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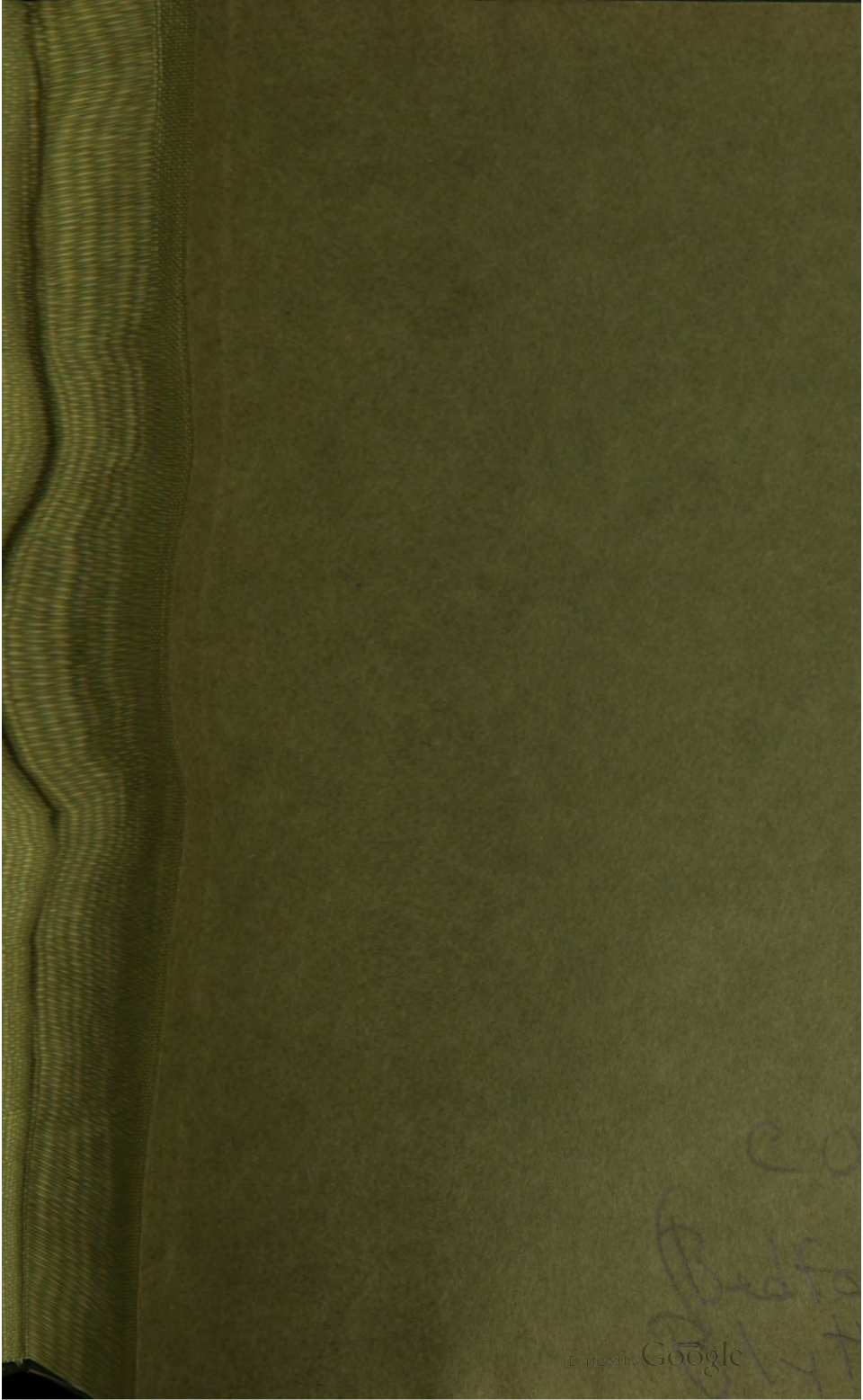


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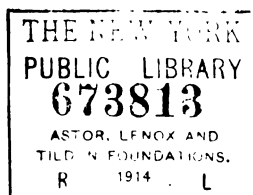
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Henry J. Toulmin.



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NEW YORK
BEDFORD :
PUBLISHED BY J. R. PORTER, 7, HIGH STREET.
NEW YORK

PREFACE.

THE great want of a History of Bedford has long been felt by all classes of society in the Town and County; and the endeavour to supply this want has been an undertaking involving much reading and careful investigation.

In preparing the present History of this ancient borough and market town, the compiler has consulted every book, pamphlet, magazine, and manuscript, to which he has had access, and from which any local information could be obtained. And he is indebted to several clergymen, ministers, and other gentlemen, who, having devoted more or less attention to the history of their own locality, kindly favoured him with scraps, with the loan of books and valuable manuscripts, and by revising the proof-sheets relating to those buildings and places with which they are connected.

Nevertheless, it is to be feared that occasional inaccuracies will be found, but he earnestly trusts that these may meet with the lenity and forbearance of the reader.

THE
END
OF
THE
WORLD

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF BEDFORD.

Time-honoured town ! to memory so dear
Claiming the tribute of a grateful tear :
Oh, fostering nurse of many an one that now
Sleeps with his fathers in the sod below !
A bright horizon long has marked thy way,
Few clouds have hid thy ever prosperous day.
Thy sons beloved, have many a laurel won,
Thy heroes oft a glorious race have run,
And well I love to scan their deeds of old,
To sing the triumphs of the brave and bold,
To listen to the tale of BEDFORD'S pride,
And see how well they lived—how nobly died.
Hail to thee, honoured spot ! when toil and strife
And all the stern realities of life
Shall come about me, when the power of truth
Shall scatter all the dreams that brighten youth,
How oft shall memory dwell upon the past,
And sigh for other days too bright to last ;
How oft thy name shall fill my grateful soul
And animate my being's very whole !

Universally it is admitted, that the early history of Great Britain, previous to the Roman Invasion, is such that we can place no reliance upon any one thing as an historical fact. Julius Cæsar, on his arrival, found this country divided into no less than thirty-four different tribes, seventeen of which occupied that part of it now known as Scotland ; among the remaining seventeen were the *Cattieuchlani*, who occupied Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hertfordshire. And it was Cassivellaunus, the chief or governor of this tribe of Britons, the *Cattieuchlani* or *Cassii*, who was chosen by unanimous consent to lead them against the arrogant, invading Cæsar. During the Roman government, Bedfordshire formed part of *Britannia Superior*, afterwards of *Britannia Prima*. Upon the last Roman division of the island into five provinces, which was made in the year 310 by the Emperor Constantine, Bedfordshire was included in the third division, called *Flavia Cesariensis*. After the establishment of the Saxon Heptarchy, it formed part of the kingdom of *Mercia* : and, from Brompton we learn that, when the two kingdoms of the Heptarchy were abolished, the kings of Mercia retained one moiety of Bedfordshire ; the kings of Essex became possessed of the other. Bedfordshire continued as a part of the Mercian kingdom until the year 827, when, with the other divisions of the island, it became subject to the West Saxons under Egbert. Alfred having subdivided his kingdom into shires, hundreds, and tythings, and marked the limits and name of each division, this was called *Bedefordscire*, since contracted to its present name.

Polydore Vergil (an Italian, who came to England in 1501, and was presented by Sir Nicholas Griffin, Knt., to the rectory of Church Langton, in Leicestershire, Nov. 5, 1503), in his *English History*, which was edited by Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., from an early translation preserved among the MSS. of the Old Royal Library, in the British Museum, and published by the Camden Society, in 1846, tells us, that "Englond, so called of Englishmen, the inhabitauntes, is divided into xxxix. Shiers, which commonlie men call countyes: of the which x., near to the middell of the soyle, are these, *Bedfordshiere*, *Huntingtonshiere*, *Buckinghamshiere*, *Oxfordshiere* (albeit parte thereof ronnethe, in lengthe one this side Thames), *Northehamtonshire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Lecestershire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Warwickshire*, and *Lincolneshire*. These counties are proporcionallie distributed into the jurisdiction of xvij busshopps, usuallie called diocesse. In the diocesse of Lincolne, being farre the biggeste, are comprised those viij shiers which lie betweene the river of Thames and Humber, that is to say Lincolne, Northeampton, Leicester, Rutland, Huntingdon, *Bedforde*, Buckingham, Oxeforde, and the remnante of Hertfordshire."

The counties are called shires, from the Saxon word *Scyre*, signifying to divide. At the first distribution of them there were only thirty-two, as may be collected from a passage in William of Malmesbury. "At this time," says Camden, "the counties were divided according to the diversity of laws. For the laws of England were of three sorts, those of the West Saxons, called *West Saxonlage*, of the Danes, called *Danelage*, and of the Mercians, called *Merchenlage*: The West Saxon laws obtained in nine counties, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Berks., Hants., Wilts., Somerset, Dorset, and Devon: those of the Danes in fifteen: York, Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, Lincoln, Northampton, *Bedford*, Bucks., Herts., Essex, Middlesex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon. The other counties, Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Warwick, Oxford, Chester, Salop, and Stafford were governed by the Mercian laws." From this it appears that after the whole of England was united into one monarchy, this county was comprised within the district which was called *Danelage*, or the Danish Jurisdiction.

Bedford is generally considered as a neat, clean, and gradually increasing, and, as far as its appearance is concerned, a rapidly improving borough and market town. It contains 2200 acres. Annual rain-fall 16 inches. It is the county town of Bedfordshire, and is situated in the Archdeaconry of Bedford, Diocese of Ely, and Norfolk Circuit; it is 50 miles distant (N.N.W.) from London by the Midland Railway, or 63 miles *via* the London and North Western, and pleasantly situated upon the river Ouse, which flows nearly from its centre from west to east. *Pleasantly situated, did we say?* Yes, its situation is indeed remarkably pleasant and agreeable; for, being placed on the margin of a large navigable river, occupying either of its banks to a considerable extent, and both sides of which are connected by a handsome modern bridge (about which we shall speak by and by)—these circumstances alone communicate a very pleasing and picturesque effect to its

appearance. But it is not only pleasantly, but *advantageously* situated; for, since the railways running from London to Leicester, and from Oxford to Cambridge, cross each other at Bedford, it possesses a facility of communication with all parts of England, which, to the merchant, the traveller, and the gentleman, must naturally recommend it as an important and desirable locality. Camden describes the town as more eminent for its antiquity, and pleasant and healthful situation, than for its beauty or extent. "It is, as near as possible by road, midway between the two extremities of England—Cornwall and Northumberland; in the direct road between the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and about equally distant, and in a straight line drawn from, all the following places:—from Brighton to Doncaster, south to north: from Harwich to Worcester, east to west: from Bristol to Yarmouth, south-west and north-east: and from Dover to Liverpool, south-east and north-west:—thus standing like a star in the centre of them all; and surrounded, as with a zone, by the most important commercial and fashionable towns and cities in the kingdom. As a place of residence, its air is considered as very salubrious and healthful; and its water in general is naturally pure and wholesome. Provisions are good and moderate in price; its meat being considered as fine as any in the kingdom, and fruit and vegetables being usually abundant in supply. As a place of business, being so advantageously situated, as well as the capital of the county, it naturally commands a certain and regular trade; and all county business, meetings of societies, assizes, sessions, courts, assemblies, races, &c., being carried on in the town, it consequently attracts a regular influx of visitors, who in a great measure tend to keep it continually gay, lively, and interesting. Lying also in the midst of a fine and open sporting country, the number of gentry of that class, who are in the habit of visiting it, is occasionally very considerable; which, added to its rich, important, and extensive public charities, renders it, for all classes of persons, one of the most desirable places of abode that probably can be found."* Not that as a town it has, as yet, attained to that marked superiority, either of general architecture, consequence, or enterprize, at which it is excellently calculated to arrive; but possessing, as it does, the elements of all, in a population, industrious, intelligent, and wealthy; and with a great, popular, and munificent benefaction, which must necessarily call forth the noblest energies of the mind; the natural course of these circumstances will tend rapidly to raise it, so that ere long it will probably vie with some of the proudest cities in the world.

As regards the antiquity of Bedford, its history, like that of many other towns of an early and uncultivated period, seems to be involved in much uncertainty. Some assert that its ancient British name was *Lettidur* or *Lettuydur*, which signifies *beds*, lodgings, or inns on a *ford*, while on the other hand some have considered this to be only a modern forgery. Again, Bedford has been supposed by some to be a Roman town—the *Lactodurum* of Antoninus. This, however, rests on a very slender foundation, for Camden has given two reasons for not assenting to the identity of *Lactodurum* and Bedford—first,

* Matthiason.

"its not being situated on a Roman way;" and secondly, "no Roman coins having been dug up here." No one, however, has ever ventured to dispute the identity of this town and the Saxon *Bedicanford*, afterwards called *Bedanford*, which names signify "The Fortress on the *Ford*" or river, and which appear to have been expressive and appropriate appellations, and were no doubt derived from its situation at the ancient ford on the river Ouse. In Domesday Book it is spelt *Bedeford*. "About the Norman revolution we find the name of the town changed from *BEDANFORD* into that of *BEDFORD*; but whether it was not so changed long before that period does not positively appear, as this word seems to be as purely Saxon as the original from which it may be supposed to be derived. The Saxon word *Bede* signifies a prayer: it is therefore not improbable (as *Florilegus* informs us that a chapel stood formerly on the margin of the river, in which were deposited the remains of *Offa* the famous Mercian king, which was afterwards swept away by an extraordinary flood) that this name of *Bedeford* originated from the chapel; as it was not unfrequently the case, previous to the erection of bridges, for chapels to be erected in such places, in which persons might offer their prayers and oblations for the safe passage of the river.* This practice also continued long afterwards; and we find, subsequent to the erection of *Bedford Bridge*, a chapel standing on it dedicated to *St. Thomas the Apostle*, which probably was used for an exactly similar purpose."

The first authentic mention of it in history occurs in the *Saxon Chronicle*, of the year 571, as follows:—"This year *Cuthwulf* fought against the Britons at *Bedicanford*, and took four towns—*Lygeanburg†* and *Egelesburg‡* and *Bennington§* and *Egonesham¶*. And in the very same year he died." According to *Samuel Lewis*, in his "Topographical Dictionary of England," the Britons, in this battle, were defeated by the West Saxons, under the command of *Cuthwulf*, brother of *Ceawlin*, third king of *Wessex*, with considerable loss.

The date of this encounter has therefore proved this town to be very ancient, and has given to it a highly respectable antiquity, which is not exceeded by many other places. The Saxons, about this period, were beginning to extend their conquests over Britain, six kingdoms being now founded, the last portion of the country which fell into their hands comprehended this county, and was established as the kingdom of *Mercia*, about twenty years afterwards. "No further mention occurs for 200 years. About the year 753, a battle was fought between *Cuthred*, king of the East Angles, and *Ethelbald*, king of *Mercia*, which by one chronicler of note, *Brompton*, is placed at *Bedford*. But *Ingulphus*, Abbot of *Croyland*, who lived much

* Hence the name of *Alms* or *Bedehouses*, in which prayers were offered for the founders.

† Considered by some to be *Leighton Buzzard*, by others (among whom is *Ingram*) as *Lenbury*.

‡ *Aylesbury*.

§ *Bensington*, *Oxfordshire*.

¶ *Ensham*, *Oxfordshire*.

earlier (1109, Brompton, 1330), and the Saxon Chronicle, and other authorities, place it at Beorgford, now Burford in Oxfordshire; and this is the generally received reading. The account of this battle is given in very good Latin, and with much appearance of good feeling, on the part of the author."—*Parry*.

Bedford, from some cause or other, seems to have occupied a very high position in the estimation of Offa, the celebrated king of Mercia. He designed for the monastery here several gifts in reversion, which it appears, by an extract from the proceedings of a council, taken from Sir Henry Spelman's *Concilia*, vol. I, p. 379, they never received.

II. Provincial Council of Clovesho

Eirene Augustus, Emperor of Rome, Leo iii. Pope.

Cuthred, King of Kent, Athelard, Archbishop.

"At a council held at Clovesho,* by Cenulf, King of Mercia, Athelard, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops, Commanders, Abbots, of the same province, enquiry was made concerning the monastery of Cotham, which Offa had taken from Cenulf, but which ought now to be restored to the metropolitan church of St. Saviour's. But then it pleased me, Athelard, by the grace of God, Archbishop, and the Abbes Cynedrytha, who at that time presided over the afore-named monastery, and the Elders from *either side* of Kent, viz: those who were assembled here, from *Bedford* inasmuch as Cynedrytha herself should give to me in the county of Kent, for the exchange of the before-mentioned monastery, *the land of one hundred and ten mansions*, sixty cassatorum (complete—DU CANGE) in the place which is called *Fleot*, and *thirty* in the place which is called *Tenaham*, but in the third place, which is called *Oreges Annelina*, *twenty*; namely all the lands which King Offa caused to be assigned to her during her life, and her heirs after her; and after the course of their lives ordered to be assigned to the church, which is situated at *Bedford*."

Offa's regard for Bedford was also shown in his desire to be buried here, even in preference to his newly-erected Abbey of St. Albans. He died in 784 at Offley, in Hertfordshire, and, according to his wish, was brought to Bedford to be interred.

The following is the description of his interment, given by Matthew Paris, a monk of St. Albans, one of the most renowned historians of the kingdom, who died in the year 1259:—"Whose body being carried to the town of Bedford, in a certain Chapel (because the exigency of the times at that juncture required it), is said to have been buried, situated out of the town,

* Said to be Abingdon, in Berkshire, a place then of great note, and where several councils, general and provincial, were held. It is difficult to explain the circumstance of the elders from Bedford being in Kent, and then coming to Clovesho; unless we could read it "and those," &c. "Cantia," can hardly mean the province of Canterbury.

on the bank of the Ouse. But even to this day the assertion of almost all the inhabitants relates, that the aforesaid Chapel being dilapidated by long use, and the violence of that river, was drowned (*submersa*), and by its rapacity with the sepulchre of the king itself was reduced to nothing; or (as many report), in the middle channel of the river, the above mentioned body being inclosed in strong sarcophagus, is ruinously and irretrievably precipitated. From whence, bathing in the summer time, seen, as swallowed up in the depth of the water And although it be diligently sought after, like a thing of fate, or enchantment (*res fatalis*), is not found."

"He was buried," says Stow, (whose account is nearly similar), "in a Chappelle which then stode on the bank of the river Ouse, without the towne of Bedford, which chappelle, with the sepulchre of the king, the said river hath swallowed up; whose tombe of lead (as it were some phantasticke thing) appeareth often to them that seek it not, but to them that seek it (saith Rowse) it is inuisible."

Of course the story of the appearance of the tomb in the water is entirely fabulous; but this is by no means an uncommon thing, for the same tale has often been related of ancient cities and buildings, and, amongst others, those in the Asphaltic Lake, or Dead Sea. As regards his tomb being made of lead, it was very often the case, in those days, for tombs or shrines to be made of this metal, which was used not only for this purpose, but also for covering externally whole buildings. The churches of Glastonbury and Lindisfarn were so coated about the year 700. Parry tells us that an ancient writer, however, "reduces it to sobriety by bitterly reproaching the Monks of St. Alban's for not rescuing and re-interring the bones of their founder, which seems a very reasonable rebuke."

It has been asserted by Leland that the monastery of Bedford was the burying place of St. Ethelbert, but Tanner thinks that as there is no confirmation of this statement, it is a mistake for Offa.

It appears from the following extract from the Saxon Chronicle, that Bedford was visited by King Edward the Elder, son of the great and good Alfred, in the year 919:—"This year came King Edward with his army to Bedanford, before Matin-mass, and received that city in surrender, and to him returned nearly all the Burgesses who had before obeyed him, and having staid there four weeks he ordered a fortification to be erected on the south side of the river before he departed thence." He also annexed a village on the south side of the river, called Mikesgate, which now forms part of the town of Bedford. "At the same time" (says the Saxon Chronicle, dated 921), "the Pagans from Huntandune and the East Angles having gone out, built that fortification at *Temesford* which they inhabited and strengthened, for they had left the other at Huntingdon, thinking that from this (*inde*) by battle and contest they should hereafter recover a great portion of the land. They advanced, after that, till they came to Bedanford, but the men who were within

came out to meet them, and fought with them, put to flight, and killed a *good great* part of them:—After these things in the same summer, a great people was collected together for the power of King Eadward, from certain cities that were most near, and they reached Temesford and blockaded and attacked that city, until they had subdued it. For they killed the king (of the Pagans) and the Earl Toglos (*Togleas*—Florence, now *Douglas*—Ingram) with Earl Mannam, his son, and his brother, and all who were striving to defend the city; the rest they took, and whatever was within."

In the sixth book of his History of England, Polydore Vergil (speaking of Edward, "who succeeded nexte unto Aluredus, as *xxij.* in the order of Kings, being crowned with the rioll diadem, according to the custom of his predecessors, of Athelredus archebisshopp of Cantaurburie, the *DCCCj.* yeare after the birth of Christe, and who was a prince of excedinge commlie favor, verie decent in everie degree of his age; albeit the dignitee thereof in his later dayse was sore defloured with the multitude of diseases, of the which he was finallie consumed, the *xxiiij.* yeare of his reigne, and *DCCCXXV.* of our Salvation, and lieth interred at Winchester"), tells us that "at the laste kinge Edwarde, havinge garded his riollme with tranquillitee, and greatlie studied the promulgation of lawes, which albeit they weare verie goodde, yet of his posteritee they were easlie ether owte of use or abolished. He byleded a castell at Bedforde, in time paste a walled towne, and now a famus village, standinge in a marvelouslie well fensed grownde; thereof at this daie is nether tracte nor token."

Nothing more is mentioned about Bedford in the Saxon Chronicle till the year 970, when, alluding to the *Monastery* here, it states that "This year died the Archbishop Oskytel, who, at first, had been consecrated diocesan Bishop of Dorkeceastre:* and afterwards, by the consent of King Edward and his nobles (or *Council*, according to Ingram), he was consecrated archbishop of Eouerwic.† He was 22 years (translated *winters* by Ingram) bishop, and died on the night of All Hallow-mas, 10 nights before Martin-mas, at Tame. And the abbot Thurkytel, his relation, conveyed the bishop's body to Bedanford, because he himself was the *Abbot* there at that time."

In the year 1010, in the unhappy reign of Ethelred, the place seems to have been of such importance as to attract the devastating inroads of the Danes, who, having succeeded in making frequent and fatal inroads into every part of the kingdom, "burned Theodford (Thetford) and Grantabrycge (Cambridge); afterwards they advanced south to the Thames, and the horsemen went to meet the ships (which had just been built by the Saxons): and, afterwards, having got out to the west, they went to Oxfordshire, and Bucingamscire, and thence along the Use, until they came to *Bedanford*, from thence to Teme-

* Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, whence the see was transferred to Lincoln in 1070, by St. Romigius of Fischamp.

† York.

sanford, burning whatever places they came to." Other writers who speak of this incursion, and who relate the vile excesses which the Danes committed, state that they, as if not content with murdering the inhabitants, and setting fire to their houses and dwellings, even destroyed their cattle. "The state of affairs in England at this time was truly lamentable; happily, it did not continue long after, and is never likely to recur at a future time,

'If England to itself do prove but true.'

Every opportunity that offered itself of gaining an advantage over the enemy was lost by bad management, and civil dissensions. 'When our forces ought to have prevented their return, they had departed home; when the Pagans were in the east, our men were detained in the west; and when they were in the south quarter, our men were in the north. All the nobles were called to the king to council, to determine how this land should be defended. But whatever was decreed there, did not, even for one month, continue unbroken. Lastly, there was no General who was willing to assemble forces, but every one fled as soon as he could: nor was any Province willing to assist another.'" —*Parry*.

In the year 1016, another expedition was made by *Canute*, through Buckinghamshire into Bedfordshire, and thence to Huntingdon and Lincoln, &c.

Nothing of importance seems to have transpired after this till the time of William Rufus. History informs us that this king gave several manors in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire to Pain (or Paganus) de Beauchamp, and conferred upon him the title of Baron. He erected

The Castle,

which sustained three severe sieges previous to its demolition by order of Henry III. The first siege that it sustained was by King Stephen, on Christmas Eve and Day, 1137, which was held a great irreverence in him, on which he said that "no opportunity should be omitted against the enemy." According to Dugdale, who quotes ancient authorities, Milo de Beauchamp, and his brother, hearing that the king (Stephen) had bestowed their sister in marriage together with the whole Barony of Bedford, which had belonged to Simon de Beauchamp, their father, unto Hugh Pauper, brother to the Earl of Leicester, garrisoned Bedford Castle, which was then a fort of great strength, environed with a mighty rampier of earth, and a high wall, within which was an impregnable tower; so that the king, not being able to get it by assault, brought his army before it on Christmas Eve, and after a long and hard siege obtained it by surrender through the mediation of his brother, Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester: Milo de Beauchamp and his soldiers, marching out upon honourable terms, Camden, however, on the contrary, observes that Stephen took the castle with great slaughter.

The office of Governor of the Castle of Bedford was sold to Simon de Beauchamp, in 1190, for £100.

This Castle, however, was particularly distinguished in the commencement of the thirteenth century, and the town derives a consequence from it in history, which is little known but to those who have paid special attention to the subject. In the year 1216 William de Beauchamp, being possessed of the Barony of Bedford, joined the insurgent Barons against King John, in support of the glorious struggle for Magna Charta. The castle, in which William de Beauchamp had received the insurgent rebels as friends, was besieged by the royal partizans, and, after holding it for seven days without receiving relief, they surrendered it.

The castle was then granted to Fawkes de Brent, or more properly *Falcs de Breaute*, as a reward for his services. From the Rev. I. D. Parry's "Select Illustrations, Historical and Topographical, of Bedfordshire," we learn that "the King appears to have been there in person the same year."

Matthew Paris says of Falcs "he was of *Nieuster*, illegitimate; that he had risen from a low origin to be a dependant on the King, and that among other acts of violence, he had deprived of their possessions thirty-two freemen then at Luiton, for which he was condemned by Henri de Braibock, &c., &c. The Castle was summoned three successive days, and then the Bishops and Abbots excommunicated Falcs and his followers, and ordered himself to be outlawed. William Mantel de Breutè, and many English and Norman nobles, who presided over the Castle, were hanged. Amongst the King's soldiers who perished by the Archers, the principal was one Geffrey, who was called a very *elegant* Soldier."

Matthiason states that "Faulk de Breaute, to whom King John had given the Castle after the capitulation of the Barons, was a soldier of fortune, and one of the brutal and despicable creatures of that monarch." The Rev. I. D. Parry also says "Fawkes was a brutal and rapacious character."

From the writings of a distinguished Antiquarian it appears that Falcs de Breauté, the well-known favourite of King John, "had name from a commune of the canton of Goderville, arrondissement of Le Havre, departement of La Seine Inferieure."

On the 19th of October, 1216, the last year of his reign, King John appears to have forced a marriage between his favourite, Falcasius de Breauté, and Margaret de Reviers, daughter and presumptive heiress of her father, Warine Fitzgerald, as appears by the following entry upon the Rolls of Letters Close of the first year of Henry III. within less than a month after his father's decease:—"Mandatum est Vicecomiti Sumersete quod faciat habere Falcasio de Breaute plenarium saisinam de manerio de Stokesurey cum pertinentiis quod contingit uxorem suam habet de dono patris domini Regis. Datum ut superius proximo, id est, t(este) W(illelmo) Marescallo Justiciario Anglie apud Bristollum XIII. die Novembris."

Margaret's first husband had died on the 1st of September, leaving an only son, Baldwin; so that in this space of one month and nineteen days, between the 1st of September and the 19th of October, his widow, Margaret, had been compelled by the King to marry his favourite against her will, in her weeds, and without her father's consent.

Not many months after the accession of Henry III., Margaret's father, Warine Fitzgerald, quitted the party of the Barons, and returned to his allegiance, as appears by these Letters Close on the Roll of the first year of his reign:—"Rex Vicecomiti Oxonie salutem. Scias quod Warinus filius Geroldi rediit ad fidem et servitium nostrum. Et ideo tibi precipimus quod sine dilatione ei saisinam habere facias de omnibus terris suis in ballia tua unde prius disseisitus fuit. Et quum sigillum non habuimus, has litteras sigillo fidelis nostri Comitis W(illelmi) Marescalli fecimus sigillari. T(este) me ipso apud Notingham XI^o die Januarii per Comitem W(illelmum) Marescallum. Eodem modo scribitur Vicecomitibus Norhamtonie, Sumersete, Wiltescire, Warewici, Lincolie, Eboraci, Bedefordie, Hertfordie, Essexie, et Gloucestrie. T(este eodem)."

Such was the valour of Falkasius de Breauté, that the Battle of Lincoln, fought on Saturday in Whitsunweek, June 20, 1217, against Prince Lewis and the Barons, was won chiefly through his bravery; he forced his way into the besieged castle, which still held out for the king, and, though taken prisoner in a sally from the fortress, his knights and bowmen succeeded in effecting his rescue. His services on this occasion were amply rewarded by divers grants of custody and wardships; and on the 9th of September following a Letter Close, witnessed by the Earl Marshal at Chertsey, was sent to the Sheriff of Lincolnshire, enjoining him to cause his beloved and faithful Falkasius de Breauté to have the land of Yreby, with its appurtenances, which was the frank marriage of his wife, as Baldwin, son of the Earl of the Isle, had held it, as he affirmed.

"De dote. Mandatum est Roberto de Cardinania quod nisi Comes de Insula sine dilatione plenariam seisinam faciat Falkesio de Breaute et Margarete uxori ejus de rationabili dote que ipsam Margaretam contingit per Baldwinum de Insula, quondam virum ipsius Margarete et filium ipsius Comitis, tunc dotem suam eis habere faciat sine dilatione secundum consuetudinem regni Anglie. Et quum, etc. Teste ipso Comite apud Oxoniam XX die Februarii."

On the 10th of September, 1217, William de Vernon, Earl of Devon and the Isle, died; and by Letters Close of the 9th of April, 1218, his lands in Middlesex and Surrey were committed to Falkasius de Breaute. In the same year he obtained the custody of the infant heir of the Earl of Devon, with the castle of Plympton, and also the third penny of the county of Devon, as William, Earl of Devon, had been accustomed to receive it in the name of his Earldom, together with the arrears from the time in which the custody of the same heir had come into his hands by the King's precept. In the course

of this second year of Henry III., Warine Fitzgerald was deceased before the 27th May, 1218, on which day the King received the homage of Falcasius de Breauté of all the land which had been his in the several counties named above, being inclusive of the castle of Stokecurey and the fiefs of sixty knights.

Falcs de Breauté is said to have pulled down the Collegiate Church of St. Paul, in order to enlarge and fortify the castle, and Mathew Paris asserts that an abbes of a neighbouring convent of Elstow [a village about one mile and a-half from Bedford], hearing of his sacrilege, took the sword out of that saint's image, and would not replace it until justice had overtaken the offender. He is in some measure exonerated, by the assertion, that he did this by order of the king, for a charter of the first of Henry III. grants the church of Tindene to the monks of Newenham, as a compensation for his father having ordered St. Paul's Church to be pulled down to fortify the castle. Falcs, who seemed to have been a brutal and rapacious person, presuming on the almost impregnable strength of the castle now set all law at defiance, and began to seize the estates and take away the goods of his weak neighbours, without consideration or mercy. He is said to have had, in 1224, no less than thirty-five actions at law against him at one time for violently displacing landholders, and seizing their possessions. In consequence of some of these acts of violence he was fined £3,000 by the King's Justiciaries Itinerant at Dunstable. Falcs in contempt sent a body of soldiers to seize upon the King's Justices in Eyre, who in their session at Dunstable (or Dunstable) had amerced him for divers spoliations. They succeeded in the capture of Henry de Braidbrock (or Braybroc), the principal Judge, and brought him prisoner to Bedford Castle, where he was kept a close prisoner, with great severity. The garrison refused to deliver the Castle up to the King, unless they had an order to that effect from their lord. Such was the indignation which had taken possession of the King's breast that not only was the castle besieged, but the Archbishop and all the Bishops, with lighted candles, excommunicated Falcasius and all who were in the castle. Siege was laid to the castle on Thursday, June 20, 1224, by King Henry III. in person, but it was not until sixty days of the most obstinate defence against all the machinery which the art of war could then produce, and having the outer and second ramparts carried by assault, that they were induced to surrender.

The castle was taken on the 14th day of August, and Henry de Braybrock set at liberty. During the siege the King had sent an armed band to seek for Falcasius, and when found to bring him to the royal presence, who returned with intelligence that he had fled to Wales. The rebel, however, disheartened by hearing that the castle had been taken, came to the King, at Bedford, under the conduct of Alexander, bishop of Coventry, and falling at the King's feet, asked for mercy in consideration of his great services rendered to him and his father in the time of insurrection and war. Then the King, by advice of his council, delivered him into the custody of Eustace, bishop of London, until the final sentence was resolved upon. On the Roll of Letters Close of the 13th year

of Henry III. m 17, in dorso, is a copy of an instrument, to which Dugdale has affixed an erroneous date, as if of that year, 1229, and in consequence of this blunder falsely charges our historians with a great mistake as to the time of his banishment.

"Omnibus Christi fidelibus presentes litteras inspecturis Falkasius de Breauté, salutem. Ad universitatis vestre noticiam volo pervenire, quod cum excommunicatus essem pro detencione Henrici de Braybroc, Justiciarii domini Regis, et incarceratione ipsius in castro Bedefordie et pro detencione ejusdem castri contra dominum Regem et alia turbatione regni, ego postmodum ad cor revertens absolucionis beneficium petii humiliter et devote, et in primis totam summam pecunie, quam tunc temporis habui, Domino Regia concessi et dedi pro parte, satisfactionis de dampnis sibi illatis. Aurum etiam et argentum, tam in pecunia quam in vasis, arma etiam et equos omnes etiam terras, possessiones et redditus, quos habui, firmas et custodias et vadia, volo quod Dominus Rex habeat sibi similiter pro parte satisfactionis ad faciendam voluntatem suam. Et quod michi gratia facta est in eo, quod absolutus fui, antequam pro posse meo satisfecissem omnino, consensum adhibui quod si castra de Plymtona et de Stokescurcy, que reddidi Domino Regi, ei restituta non fuerint infra XV. dies, ego in pristinam sententiam recidam appellatione remota. Juravi etiam super sancta Evangelia quod nichil amplius, quod scirem, habui die conceptionis litterarum istarum in vasis vel pecunia, auro vel argento, armis vel equis, in Anglia vel alibi, et si in hoc falsam dixero, volo quod nichil michi prosit absolutio, set excommunicatis sim appellatione remota, sicut prius. Et si occurrerit postmodum memorie mee quod aliquid amplius habeam et non transmisero illud statim Domino Regi, volo quod statim, appellatione remota, recidam in sententiam memoratam. Idem etiam fiat si aliquo tempore per me vel per alium movero Domino Regi gravamen aliquod vel turbationem, vel aliquid machinatus fuero contra ipsum. Et hec omnia ad instanciam meam et partes et de mera voluntate mea et spontanea processerunt. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras meas patentes sigillo meo signavi. Actum Londoniis Anno Domini M^oCC^oXXIII^o in crastino beati Bartholomei Apostoli."

In the "Chronicon Petroburgense," edited by Mr. Thomas Stapleton, and published by the Camden Society, we read: "Mccxxiii.—Falso muniens castrum Bedefordie, temerarie illud contra regem obtinere presumpsit. Quo cognito, Rex habito proborum vivorum consilio, castrum insipienter munitionum sapienter obsidens, circumquaque gentis animose et fortis copia circumdedit, machinas undique provida discretione collocans. Denique post labores nimios et cedes quamplurimas, captum est in Assumptione beate Marie, et tam milites quam servientes intus reperti suspensi sunt cuncti lxxx. et castrum, jussu regio dirutum, terre coequatur."

In the Appendix to "Liber de Antiquis Legibus," we read; "Anno Domini M^o. CC^o. xx^o. tertio, mortuo Philippo, Rege Francie, coronatus est in Regem Francorum predictus Lodewycus, filius suus.

Anno sequenti, quidam alienigena, nomine Faukes de Briauté, quem Johannes Rex cum aliis alienigenis fecit adduci in regnum Anglie, cui etiam dederat Comitissam de Insula in uxorem cum omnibus possessionibus suis, et multas terras ablatas a Baronibus Anglie dederat ei, contra Regem et regnum et pacem ejus et regni tranquillitatem, castrum de Bedeford, jure alterius fundatum, et tempore guerre pro voluntate Regis Johannis alienatum, et alia, que de dominicijs Regis et de terris Baronum vi et violenter extorta, possidere videbatur, restituere contradixit, et regis mandatis obedire contempsit. Unde Dominus Rex predictum castrum armis et armatis munitissimum obsedit per plures septimanas; et tandem cepit et penitus in terra prostravit in vigilia Assumptionis Beate Marie, universis cujuscunque conditionis in castro inventis suspendio interemptis, numero plusquam lx. decem. Predictus vero Faukes, abjurans regnum, exiit a terra."

From Rev. I. D. Parry's "Illustrations of Bedfordshire," we learn that the siege is also described in the following most rude and barbarous lines, written by a *cotemporary* Robert of Glo'ster, and one of the first, (we believe), who wrote in English. It is rather a matter of congratulation that the others wrote in Latin, as the worst Latin of the middle ages, is far preferable to this, and is, moreover, much the easier of the two to interpret:—

Faukes de Breute, that in Engeland was long,
Mid (1) King Ion and adde of him Bedvorde avonge (2);
He astorede (3) the Castell thulke yer well thoru all thinge,
And sett their volk enou to hold him aye (4) the King;
The King and heis men of the Londe mid strength and mid ginne (5),
And bilaye (6) the Castell long ar (7) hii (8) him myte wyne,
Hi nome (9) him tho' mid strength therevore as riht was,
Fourscore gode Knytes hii an (10) henge alas!
And Sir Faukes' Brother, Sir William de Breaute,
In gibet hii were an honge as to more (11) vilte,
A Seinte Maire (12) day in hervest that renthe (13) it was to se,
And so hii (14) michte learn Traitor to be;
Sr. Faukes that fleu aboute wide gan to fle,
At last he was ifounde in the Church of Coventre;
The church savede his life, as viliche (15) inou,
He vorsok the Kinges lond, and to is owe (16) contrei drou" (17).

"The morrow of St. Bartholomew is the 25th day of August, when he was in custody of the Bishop of London, and about the same time the wife of the said Falcasius, presenting herself before the King and the Archbishop, said that she had never given consent in that degree that she should be joined in matrimony to him; wherefore, as the time of warfare she had been made captive and espoused without, she demanded a divorce to be made. Day was given to her by the Archbishop in order to have further time for deliberation as to

(1) With; (2) received; (3) stored; (4) against; (5) military engines; (6) belay or blockade; (7) ere; (8) they; (9) take; (10) have hanged; (11) for greater disgrace; (12) August 15; (13) frightful sight; (14) they might learn the punishment of a traitor; (15) vilely enough, sufficiently disgraced; (16) own country; (17) drew, betook himself.

what he ought to do; whilst the King granted to her all her lands and possessions throughout England, and placed her under the custody of William Earl Warren. The Archbishop subsequently pronounced for the divorce, and on the Fine Roll of the 9th Hen. III. under the heading "*Pro Margareta que fuit uxor Falcasii*," we have copy of a precept to Thomas de Cyrences that he take with him honest and lawworthy men of the vicinity of Buckland, Bickleigh, Walkhampton, and Colyton, which manors William, Earl of Devon, had assigned in dower to Margaret de Revers, when Baldwin, his son, married her, and by their view and testimony cause all the corn growing upon the land of the said manors to be valued, and if the said Margaret was willing to receive the corn at the same price to answer thereof to the King at the terms appointed by him, then to leave to her the aforesaid corn; and if not, then retaining the aforesaid corn to the King's use, to cause the aforesaid Margaret to have seizin of the said manors, having first taken security from her as to the safe custody of the said corn; and which is dated from Winchester, 11th day of March. In the same month Falcasius de Breaute was sentenced to abjure England for ever, and after this had been done, William, Earl Warren, was commanded by the King to conduct him safe to the sea, and putting him on board to leave him to the winds and sails. Thus, with only five attendants, having crossed into Normandy, as soon as he landed he was captured by the servants of the King of France and brought before him, who, by reason of his having taken the cross, dismissed him, when he straitway set out on a journey to Rome in company with Robert Passelewe, his clerk. In England the Legate Otho had in vain interceded for his restoration to the royal favour, wherefore, having dispatched his affairs at the Court of Rome, he hastened to return to England, but falling sick on his journey he ended his flagitious life at St. Ciriac in Languedoc in the course of the following year."—*Liber de Antiquis Legibus*.

The events which followed the imprisonment of Judge Braibrock are thus described in the "*Chronicle of Dunstaple*":—"In the same year, in the octave of Pentecost, while the King with the Clergy and the Barons of the Kingdom, at Northampton, treated of the conquest of Scotland, William de Breaute, with the consent of his brother Faukes, took Henry de Braibroc, at the time a Justice of the King's Bench, and detained him in prison, in the Castle of Bedford; which the King taking ill, suspended his Scotch invasion, and besieged Bedford: to whose assistance came the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops and Abbots, his Suffragans, and granted him moreover, a *caruage*,* namely, half a mark of each carrucate of their domain lands, and two shillings from each carrucate of their tenants, and two labourers from each hyde†, to work the engines. But, lest this should be wrested at another time into a Service, the King gave them charters for the immunity of the future. In the mean time however, Faukes withdrew himself, tarrying in the land of

* In the year 1220, a Caruage was granted to the King, but the Clergy were excepted, with liberty, however, to give it of their own free will.

† A Hyde was from 100 to 120 acres of land.

the Earl of Chester. But the same Earl and the Bishop of Winchester, and the Earl of Aubermarle, and William de Cantilupe, and Brien of the Isle, and Peter de Malo-lacu, with their followers, falsely followed the King's army, but in word and deed rendered themselves suspected by all. At length, when the Bishop of Winchester and the Earl of Chester saw themselves excluded from the King's more secret counsels, seeking an occasion from a friend, they turned away to their own concerns. In the mean time, however, the ruin of the Castle impending, and the King's Messenger (or *Nuncio*) interceding, the Earl returned to the King's Court, and Falcs even to Northampton; who, the same being under the Conduct (*sub conductu*) of the King, and Martin de Pateshull, Archdeacon of Bedford, treating for Peace between the King and him, the Castle was taken after this manner:—On the East side, was one Petraria and two Mangonella, which daily attacked the tower; and on the West side, two Mangonella, which battered the old tower; and one Mangonell on the South side, and one on the North, which made two breaches in the walls nearest to them. Besides these there were there two wooden machines, erected by workmanly art, above the height of the tower and the castle, to assist (*ad opus*) the slingers and scouts. Besides these, there were many machines in which both the Balistarii and Fundibularii lay in ambush. There was also there a machine called Cattus, under which the subterraneous diggers which are called Miners, had ingress and egress, whilst they undermine the Castle walls. The Castle was taken at four attacks.—In the first, was taken the Barbican, where four or five foreigners were killed; in the second was taken the outer Ballia, in which more were killed. In which our men (of Dunstaple) gained Horses with Harness (*Ernasiis*), Helmets and Ballistæ, Oxen and Baconers (*Bacones*), and live Hogs, and many other things of which there is no reckoning. But they burnt the houses with the corn (*bladum*) and hay that was within. In the third attack, the wall near the old Tower fell, by means of the miners, when our men entered by the ruin, and with great danger took the inner Bail, in the occupation of which many of our men perished. And ten of ours desiring to enter the tower, were shut in and detained by the enemy. But at the fourth assault, on the eve of the Assumption, about evening, fire was put under the tower, by the miners, so that smoke burst out from the habitable part of the tower, where the enemies were, and the tower was split, so that broad chinks appeared. And then the enemy despairing of their safety, permitted the wife of Falcs and all the women with her, to go safe and unhurt to Hubert, the King's justiciary, with all the soldiers whom they had just shut up, and submitted themselves to the King's command, placing the King's Flag '*in summitate regis*,' in a principal situation: and so under the King's ward they remained that night in the tower. On the following Morning, being brought before the King's Tribunal, and absolved by the Bishops from excommunication, at the Command of the King and his justiciary, more than eighty were hanged on gallowses. *But the Towers, at the supplication of the principal men, the King granted to the Templars, that they might fight in the Holy Land, for their Lord, in their proper Habit, (habitu suo).* The Chaplain of the Castle was delivered to the Archbishop to be judged by the Ecclesiastical Court. How much treasure,

and what a multiplicity of arms and victual was found in the Tower, it is not easy to relate. And so whatever things Falcs had in England, whether moveable or immoveable, were dispersed abroad.

These things being performed, Falcs was led to Bedford with a few accompanying him; but his men were pardoned: himself remaining under sentence, until he had restored to the King the Castle of Plumptre, and the Castle of Stokes Curci, and the vessels of Gold and Silver, and the money which he had possessed; and so he was taken to London.

But in the mean time, it was ordered the Sheriff (*vice comes*), to demolish the tower and outer Bail; the interior Bail, the outworks, or Barbican (*propugnantia*) being removed, remained for the habitation of William de Beauchamp. The stones were given to the Canons of Newenham, and of Chaldewelle, and the Church of Saint Paul, Bedford. Falcs, after he was pardoned at London, and because he was *marked with the Cross*, (*'Crucesignatus'*) was permitted to depart to Rome, and passing the sea, and applying (for a Passport) at Fiscamp, was detained by the bailiffs of the King of France. At length, the following Easter, being liberated from prison, he went to Rome, and sent very pitiful letters to the King, for the recovery of his wife and his lands, whereupon the King with his Barons, wrote word to our Lord the Pope of his treachery, and so having suffered a repulse, he departed to Troyes, and there tarrying a year, he was *licensed* (*licentiatus*), from the Kingdom of France, because he would not pay homage to the King. At length, returning to Rome, with much pressing he implored his wife, with his patrimony to be restored to him; and so returning from the City, loaded with many debts, at Saint Ciriack he closed his Life."

Matthew Paris informs us that "Two Testudines which the French call *Brutesches*, were destroyed by the Royal Forces. These things having been so performed, when those enclosed saw that they could no longer resist, on the night of the Assumption of St. Mary, certain of them going out of the Castle, implored the King's mercy; all of whom the King ordered to be bound with strong fetters, until he had subdued the rest. But on the next day, when all had come out wounded with deadly wounds, and were brought before the presence of the King, all were condemned to be hanged. There were hanged among the soldiers and servants, twenty-four, who on account of their obstinate resistance at the end of the siege, could not obtain pardon. Henri de Braiboc, coming to the King safe and unhurt, gave him many thanks. Falcs, seduced by a false hope, had thought that his men could hold the Castle a whole year, till, at length, when by certain relation, he knew that his brother and all the rest were hanged; under the conduct of Alexander, Bishop of Coventry, he came to Bedford to the King, and falling prostrate before him, begged, that for his obedience and expensive labours performed for him and his father, in the time of hostility, he might obtain pardon. Then the King, by counsel, delivered him, despoiled of his Castle, his lands, and all his goods, to the keeping of Eustace, Bishop of London, until it might be judicially

determined what should be done with him. Then was displayed the vengeance of St. Paul: for Falcs, that bloody traitor, had destroyed the Church of St. Paul, for the building and fortifying of his Castle, who was now kept in a dungeon in the Custody of St. Paul (London), whence the Abbess of Helenstow hearing that Falcs had raged against St. Paul's Church, and was yet unpunished, ordered the sword to be taken out of the hand of the statue of St. Paul, and, after this vengeance, to be restored. And so Falcs, as in a moment, from a very rich man, made most poor, may be an example to many, and especially to the guilty: concerning his reverse of fortune, some one says thus:—

Perdidit in mense Falco tam fervidus ense
Omine sub sævo quicquid quæsit ab œvo.

“The wife of Falcs, Margaret de Ripariis, presenting herself to the King and the Archbishop, said, she had never consented to be married to him, and that since she had been taken away in war time and married by compulsion, she sought a divorce. The Archbishop appointed her a day, that in the mean time they might deliberate. But the King granted her all her tenures and possessions throughout all England, and placed her under the guardianship of Waillaim Earl Warenne.”

Immediately Bedford Castle had been taken, the brother of Falcasius, who had violently seized on the judge, was hanged, with various others who were implicated in the rebellion. The greater part of the fortifications were demolished, the stones being used in the building of the bridge, and the remaining part restored to the possession of William de Beauchamp.

Parry tells us that the site of the castle belonged with the fishery in the Ouse to Elizabeth, widow of John Lord Mowbray, of Axholme, in the year 1361. In 1398 it belonged to John de Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham; and in 1400, to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal (1407).

At the coronation of the Kings of England the ancient barons of Bedford held the office of Lord Almoner, and, as an inheritor of part of the barony, the Marquess of Exeter officiated at that of George IV., receiving the usual perquisite of a silver alms-basin, and the cloth upon which the sovereign walked from Westminster Hall to the Abbey.

From one of the Rutland Papers entitled “Device for the Coronation of King Henry VII.,” we give the following extract:—“Afor the king directly his swerd shalbe borne by the Erle of Derby; on the right hand of the Kinges swerde the Erle of Oxenford as Grete Chamberlayn of England; on the left hand of the said swerd the Duke of N. [Norfolk] as Marshall of England; then the mair of London bering a mace, and the chieff herauld of the Kinges armys anempst him; then, behynd the King, my lords the Dukes of *Bedford*”

* Jasper Earl of Pembroke, who was one of the Commissioners of the Court of Cliams, was created Duke of Bedford on the 27th Oct., 1485 (Dugd. Baron. ii. 242). The mention of him by his new title is another proof that this paper must have been compiled on the very eve of the coronation.—W. Jerdan, F.S.A., M.R.S.L.

and Suffolk, the oon byhynd the King on the right hand of the furst foloer, and on the left hand the Duke of Suffolke."

Regarding the order of the procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, we read in the same paper:—"The Kyng and the Quene, thus sett in seeges roiall, and the waye from thens to the pulpitt in Westminster churche arraied vndre fote with raie cloth by the almener, which somtym was *Beauchamp of Bedford*, the Cardinale Archbisshoppe of Caunterbure, the Archbisshoppe of Yorke, with othre lords spiritual, all pontifically arraied, and thabbot of Westminster, with his couent in copes, bering reliques and other things accustomed to be born in coronacion, that is to saye, a chalice of gold, a paten of the same, a sepre with the dowe, and a rodd of gold for the King, and with a sepre of iuere also with a dove, and an other rodd of gold also, for the Quene shall come vnto the King and the Quene, so sitting in Westminster hall, and there, by thaduisse of lords a solempne procession shalbe sett forth, wherin the King, then being bareheaded, and hauyng the Bisshopp of Excetre to susteyn hym on his right hand, and the Bisshoppe of Ely on his left hand, shall goo vndre a ceele, or canape of cloth of gold bawdekyn, with iiij staves and iiij bellis of siluer and gilt, the same to be born by the Barons of the V ports wher so euyr the King goe, saffe when he is nigh the high autler, iiij of them alwaies at the bering of eury staff. Next before the King my Lord [of Worcestre] Chauncelar of England, if he be a Busshoppe, shall bere the patent, and in case he be no Bisshoppe then the Bisshoppe of Chicester to be appoynted in his place by the King; next to them the *Duke of Bedford* bering the Kinges crowne, before hym the Duke of Southfolke bering the Kinges Septur in the right hand of the corone; befor hym therle of Arundell bering the rodd of gold in the left hand; befor them therle of Derby bering the Kinges swerd in a scaberd; before him iij Erllys goint togeidr, that is to wete, the Erle of Shrewesbere, bering a swerd called *curtana* naked, the yerle of Deuonshir on the right hand bering an other swerd naked, and the Erle of Notingham on his left hand bering an othre swerd naked; before them the Erle of Essex bering the Kinges spores; before him the new made Knights of the Bath in a lyuerey.

Sir Richard Guldford, Maister Savage, to ordre this.

In this ordre the King shall goo vppun raie cloth, to be laied by the aulmener from his sette in the haul to the pulpitt, thorowe his palace in to Westmynster church, entering at the west dorr, wher, whan the King is well entred, he shall sumwhat tary."

After this the site of the castle decended by a co-heir of the Mowbrays to John Lord Berkley, who gave it to Sir Reginald Bray, in Henry VII.'s reign.

Camden speaks of the ruins impending grandly over the river in this time. No remains of the fabric can now be discovered, but the vestiges of the castle are to be seen at the back of the "Swan" hotel, the site overhanging the river having been converted into a bowling green.

High in the rear, the ancient "Castle site"
 Rises abrupt (an artificial height),
 Where many a "baron bold" has had his fling,
 Black-mail'd his neighbours, and def'd his king;
 Where minstrels sang of glory or of love,
 And belted "knights" in mimic combat strove;
 But now nor "battlements" or "turrets" frown,
 To guard the river, or coerce the town,
 But peaceful citizens at play are seen
 And the proud castle-site's a bowling green.

The site of the castle with the "Swan" hotel, is now the property of his Grace the Duke of Bedford. Fragments of pottery, a brass spur, pair of shears, a bridle bit, some coins, and an ancient mortar, dug up in the Castle Lane, on the premises of Mr. W. W. Kilpin, were exhibited by Mr. Wyatt, at the annual meeting of the Bedfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society, held at the General Library, Bedford, June 21, 1849. And, at the Annual Meeting of the same society, held Nov. 11, 1851, George Hurst, Esq., read the following very interesting "Historical Notice of Bedford Castle:"—

"An account of the ancient fortifications and the Castle of Bedford cannot be altogether uninteresting, considering their importance in the early periods of our history, and that the great strength of the castle, at various times emboldened the fierce and turbulent barons to resist the laws of their country, and bid defiance to the power of their sovereign. An inquiry into the extent and boundaries of these fortifications becomes of greater consequence now, as the only vestige remaining of them, that would be marked by the ordinary observer, is a circular mound of earth, used as a bowling-green, upon which formerly stood the don-jon or keep; and even the traces that might arrest the attention of the antiquary, are continually becoming obliterated from the alterations required from time to time, to suit the taste or convenience of the owners of the property.

This mound of earth would seem to have been of much higher antiquity than the castle itself, and was probably used by the Anglo-Saxons to defend the pass of the river; and there is fair evidence that it was thrown up originally by the Romans for the same purpose; as down at right angles with the river, on the opposite side, are evident traces of a vicinal way, or cross road, leading by Medbury to Hawnes, from thence by Clophill Church towards Barton.

Camden observes in his "Britannia:"—"I dare not assent to those who think Bedford the *Lactodorum* of Antoninus, for neither is it situated upon a military way, (which is the surest guide in our search after the situations and mansions mentioned by Antoninus,) nor were there any Roman coins dug up here." In his time, probably, there might have been no clear evidence, but since then the proof necessary to establish the fact has been supplied; that is, the discovery of Roman remains. On the very site of the Roman way that I have mentioned, near its approach to the river, on the south side of Potter-

street, about four years ago, Mr. James Tacey Wing, on having the ground excavated for the purpose of laying the foundation of some houses, and digging for gravel, discovered several pieces of Roman pottery; they are rather rude in construction, and of the unbaked kind, such as might have been manufactured by the colonists at so great a distance from the seat of empire. Also, on the north of the river, Roman pottery has at various times been discovered; several articles were found a short distance west of the old ford, in a situation where the road must have passed. About two years ago, at the corner of the new Market-place and the High-street, on excavating for a cellar, an urn was thrown up containing charred bones and ashes. At various places along the line of this road, Roman remains have been found. Several articles were dug up in a field belonging to the representatives of the late Miss Monoux, in the parish of Elstow, about a mile and a-half from the line of road, and among them some very beautiful specimens of Samian ware. At Hawnes, by the wood side, on another portion of the line, very considerable remains of Roman pottery have been discovered.

When the old bridge of Bedford was taken down in the year 1811, among other antiquities the workmen found several Roman coins.

The road alluded to may easily be traced through the parishes of St. Mary and St. John, of which it forms the division-boundary, although running through the middle of a field. This of itself is sufficient to show that its antiquity extended quite to the period when the country was portioned into parishes.

The earthworks on the north side of the river would form a protection to the ford, but it is reasonable to believe that the Romans, who neglected nothing to give security to their various stations, would also erect a gate or barrier for the defence of the southern margin. In the south transept of St. Mary's Church, a building not far from the ancient ford, is a considerable portion of sandstone, incorporated with the limestone of the neighbourhood. This transept is of Early Norman architecture, in which the presence of sandstone can only be accounted for, on the supposition that it was employed in connexion with this limestone after the destruction of the Roman work. The Romans, having an important station at Sandy, six miles distant, and a road from that place, might be expected to bring the material that they had in great abundance, and with which they were well acquainted, for carrying on their works, in preference to searching for stone, the existence of which might be to them a matter of uncertainty. And it would be much more convenient for them to convey their material that distance, along a ready-formed road, than a much shorter space over an uncultivated wild. The road from Sandy is now traceable, its direction is through the village of Cople. I may notice, *en passant*, that Roman coins were found in digging a deep drain in that parish, on lands the property of his Grace the Duke of Bedford, to the left of the road to Northill.



BEDFORD BRIDGE, 1800.



ST CUTHBERT'S CHURCH.

There is also collateral evidence of the former existence of a Roman gate on the south side of the ford, in the present name of the street leading to it, which is Potter-street, a corruption of the Latin term *porta*, a gate. Afterwards, in the Saxon times, Edward the Elder commanded the town to be extended beyond the south side of the river, and that part was termed Mikes Gate, which seems to me a further indication of the existence of a gate; and as there is not the slightest trace of the town ever having been walled, that name could not have been given as the appellation of an entrance into the town. Potter-street also gave the name to one of the ancient wards of the borough, which was called Potter-street Ward.

The eagle in the borough arms has by some been thought a proof of Bedford having been a Roman station, but this I conceive to be a modern introduction made subsequently to the Reformation, or but shortly previous; but it was certified in the year 1566, by William Harryatt, Clarencieux King of Arms. The corporation have two seals—one with this modern interpolation, and the other of very high antiquity, having only the barbican of a castle, with griffins as supporters.

During the period of the Saxon ascendancy, Bedford seems to have been a place of considerable importance, and the scene of many sanguinary conflicts. About the year 572, Cuthwulf defeated the Britons at that place, which immediately surrendered to him, and he afterwards maintained his power there.

Offa, king of the Mercians, seems to have had a considerable attachment for the locality, as he selected it for his place of sepulture. He was buried in a small chapel, on the north side of the river Ouse, westward of St. Paul's Church, near the public wharf, now called Batt's Ford. This chapel was subsequently swept away by the water of the Ouse overflowing its banks. Offa, according to the Saxon Chronicle, died either anno 794 or 796; as, in separate places, each of these dates is given.

Camden and other writers give *Bedanford*, as the Saxon name of Bedford, and he further states, "I have read, that it was called in British, *Lisurder*, or *Lettidur*, but this seems to be translated from the English name, for Luty signifies in British 'public inns,' and *Lettidur*, 'inns upon a river;' and our English Bedford implies 'beds and inns at a ford.'" This seems to me fanciful enough, and a better clue to the name, I think, may be found in the Saxon words *bede* and *ford*. The Chapel or Bedehouse of King Offa being placed by the side of the ford. And as a corroboration of this, the name of the town is spelt in Domesday Book, *Bedeford*.

From the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we find that Edward the Elder, before Martinmas in the year 919, went with his forces to Bedford, and gained the town after four weeks' siege, when almost all the townsmen submitted to him. It was then he ordered the south part of the town to be built, which some suppose to have been merely a fortress.

In the year 921, the Danish army and East Angles constructed a fortress at Tempsford, six miles north of Bedford, "thinking by warfare and hostility to recover more of the land;" from thence they went forth to Bedford, but were repulsed with great slaughter by the inhabitants.

In 1010, the town was burned by the Danes, after ravaging every place in their course through Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire.

After the Norman Conquest the town seemed to increase in importance, its estimation then, according to the Domesday Book, was as half a hundred; but the castle was not erected until the reign of William Rufus. It was built by the third Baron of Bedford, Paganus de Beauchamp, and from its strength became an object of contention in every civil commotion that occurred in the kingdom, up to the period of its demolition.*

The castle sustained a siege against King Stephen, Anno 1137, an account of which is given by Dugdale in his "Baronage." He states that Milo de Beauchamp and his brothers garrisoned the castle, because the king had given their sister in marriage, together with the barony of Bedford, to Hugh Pauper, brother to the Earl of Leicester, as the barony had belonged to their father, Simon de Beauchamp. That the castle was then a place of great strength, "with a mighty rampire of earth," and a high wall, having within an impregnable tower. The king being unable to take it by assault, brought his army before it. It surrendered after a long and difficult siege. Milo de Beauchamp with his soldiers, through the mediation of his brother, Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, marched out upon honourable conditions.

Camden, speaking of this siege, merely says, that Stephen, after he had possessed the kingdom of England against his solemn oath, took this castle with great loss on both sides.

The barony of Bedford seems to have been for some time annexed to the earldom of Huntingdon, for by a parliamentary record, the abbess of Elstow, in 1327, preferred a petition, claiming the third penny of the town under a grant of Malcolm, King of Scotland and Earl of Huntingdon. The burgesses repelled the claim, stating that Malcolm never possessed the lordship of the town. According to Dugdale, Simon de Beauchamp, in 1190, gave 100*l.* for the government of the castle; so that it appears, if ever it had been possessed by the Scottish king, it had subsequently been restored to the Beauchamps.

An account is given of a second siege of the castle by Stephen during the time of the war between him and David, King of Scotland, by Holinshed, who also states that Bedford was then held by Henry, the son of David, as

* The following extracts from the Pipe Rolls, show that the castle must have been originally a royal fortress;—"29 Hen. II. In reparacione castri de Bedeford. xii*l.*—34 Hen. II. In operacione pontis castri de Bedeford et porticii usque aquam. iv*l.* vis. ix*d.*—6 John. In emendacione gaiolum et ferramentis pro prisonibus. xiii*l.* ix*d.*"

belonging to the Earldom of Huntingdon, and was then garrisoned by the Scots; that the siege lasted thirty days, and was ultimately taken by mere force; and Stephen was very much blamed for irreverence, as he commenced the siege on Christmas eve; and during the whole of the next day continued the attack. This is certainly a strong confirmation that the barony of Bedford had been annexed to the Earldom of Huntingdon, and was, as such, owned by the Scottish king.

When the barons took up arms against King John, William de Beauchamp, who was one of the leaders of the faction, placed the castle in their hands. About two years afterwards the king sent Fawkes de Breauté to besiege it. The castle surrendered in a few days, and it was bestowed upon him by the king, as a reward for his services.

This Fawkes de Breauté came over with King John from Normandy in a low capacity, but he soon raised himself by the intrepidity and talent he displayed in the king's service. Very quickly after he became possessed of the castle, by rapine and violence he acquired a great fortune; which was further increased by a marriage with a wealthy heiress, named Margaret de Reparij's, who, by the king, was compelled to marry him very much against her own inclination.

Fawkes, having the barony of Bedford, set about rebuilding and fortifying the castle, for which purpose, being a gentleman who did not stand very much upon trifles, he pulled down and appropriated the collegiate church of St. Paul and several religious houses. As soon as this sacrilegious conduct became known to the abbess of the convent of Elstow, she took the sword from the hand of St. Paul's image in her church, which was not replaced until retribution had reached the offender. It would seem that Falco had the king's sanction for pulling down the church, as by a charter of Henry the Third, the church of Tindeen was granted to the monks of Newenham for the loss they had sustained in that of St. Paul by his father's command.

Fawkes de Breauté having fortified his castle so perfectly that it was considered impregnable, perpetrated many and excessive outrages, and set at defiance all rule, authority, and power. He was a man that acted entirely upon

"The good old plan,
For all to take that have the power,
And those to keep who can."

Henry de Braybroke, one of the king's judges itinerant, having at Dunstable allowed thirty verdicts to pass against the baron for injuries done to his less powerful neighbours, he became so enraged, that he sent a body of men, and had the judge suddenly surprised and conveyed to Bedford Castle, and there kept a prisoner under a strong garrison, and entreated very harshly.

That the lord of Bedford Castle should submit to any law excepting his own will, seems a most unreasonable thing, of which an experienced man in the situation of judge ought to have been aware; but this last outrage led to the ruin of the baron and the destruction of his castle, for it is stated by Speed "that the judge's wife with her tears so moved the whole parliament to indignation and pity, that all other business set apart, the clergy, as well as the laity, attended the king to the siege." This fact gives a very remarkable insight into the manners of that age, and the impunity with which the great men could commit the most violent excesses. In order to obtain redress it was necessary that the king and parliament should have their sympathies excited by the tears and solicitations of the judge's wife, although the offender had resisted the highest legal authority in the kingdom—had grossly ill-treated and imprisoned a judge of the land, and had been guilty of the most daring sacrilege. However, to attack the Baron of Bedford was not considered a trifling service; for the king marched there in person, accompanied by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the principal peers of the realm. And so warmly did the clergy enter into the cause of humbling this lawless man, that the archbishops, abbots, and bishops granted a voluntary aid, and two labourers from every hide of their land, to assist in the siege and to work the engines.

At the time of the siege, Fawkes had gone into Wales for the purpose of exciting a diversion in that province, and had left his brother in the castle with a body of desperadoes, having munitions and provisions sufficient to sustain a year's siege. But the attack was pursued with such vigour and determination that the castle held out only two months, when the judge was set at liberty, and the lieutenant and the garrison hanged. Falco finding that his castle, that he considered impregnable, had been taken and his property forfeited, determined instantly upon throwing himself upon the clemency of his sovereign, for which purpose he obtained a safe conduct to Bedford, from Alexander, Bishop of Coventry. It is singular that this man, who in the excess of his impiety had thrown down churches and destroyed religious establishments—had violated not only private but clerical rights, should in his state of utmost necessity apply for, and receive protection from an ecclesiastic. A strong proof of the benign influence of that religion whose precepts of love and mercy can inspire confidence and forgiveness to the greatest offenders! When Fawkes came into the presence of the king, he threw himself at his feet, and begged for mercy on account of former services. He with great difficulty obtained a commutation of punishment to perpetual banishment, after delivering up all his money, and gold and silver vessels, with the castles of Plumpton and Stoke Curcy. Previously to his departure he requested the Earl Warrene, who performed the service of attending to his embarkation, to inform the king that the barons had instigated the whole of the troubles he had fomented.

If what Fawkes stated were true, he showed a very base and malignant spirit in betraying his accomplices; but it is hardly credible that he could have been instigated by the barons to perpetrate his various outrages against

his humble neighbours, as these violences could have had no other object than his own personal aggrandizement, and would tend rather to weaken the cause of the barons by strengthening the loyal feelings of the injured persons, who would make common cause with the sovereign, to whom alone they could look for protection. And the indignity perpetrated against the judge itinerant, was clearly a piece of reckless, personal vindictiveness.

On his way to Rome, he made application at Fiscamp for a passport, but was detained and thrown into prison by the Bailiffs of France. On being liberated, he completed his journey to Rome, from which place he sent very penitential letters to the king, soliciting that his wife and patrimony might be restored. These the king refused; and the lady herself discovered no inclination to return to him, or even to acknowledge him as her husband, but preferring rather to remain at the English court, alleging as a reason, that her marriage with him had been compulsory. He died shortly after at Ciriac, completely prostrated by debts and poverty.

The king granted to his wife all the possessions that she had enjoyed in England previous to her marriage, and placed her under the guardianship of William, Earl Warrene.

The account given by Camden of the manner in which the castle was taken I shall transcribe. It is very curious, and shows that the art of war was then understood in great perfection.

“On the east side were one petrary and two mangonels battering the old tower; as also one upon the south, and another on the north part, which beat down two passages through the walls that were next to them. Besides these there were two machines contrived of wood, so as to be higher than the castle and tower, erected on purpose for the gunners and watchmen; they had also several machines, wherein the gunners and slingers lay in ambush. There was moreover another machine, called cattus, under which the diggers, who were employed to undermine the walls of the tower and castle, came in and out. The castle was taken by four assaults; in the first, was taken the barbican; in the second, the outer ballium; at the third attack, the wall of the old tower was thrown down by the miners, where with great danger they possessed themselves of the inner ballium through a chink; at the fourth assault the miners set fire to the tower, so that the smoke burst out, and the tower was cloven to that degree as to show visibly some broad chinks, whereupon the enemy surrendered.”

In the “Chronicle of Dunstaple” it is stated, that the people of Dunstaple for storming the outer bail had as their share of the plunder a great number of horses, with harness, arms and engines, live cattle, hogs and pigs, and a number of houses filled with hay and corn, and that many lost their lives by the fall of a tower, and ten men were made prisoners in it.

The sheriff then received orders for the demolition of the outer ballium and the keep; and after that was done, and the moat filled in, the inner ballium was granted to William de Beauchamp as a residence. The stones were given to the Church of St. Paul's and the canons of Newenham and Caldwell. All that remained of this important fortress, in Camden's time, was a few bare bricks that hung over the river, on the east side of the town, and which are marked out by Speed in a small map, printed in the year 1610, and called in the marginal reference "ould ruines." These have long since disappeared, and the site is now occupied by the very beautiful garden of the Swan Hotel.

The river frontage of the castle extended 600 feet eastward from the site upon which now stands the Swan Hotel; and about the centre of this line, across the river, a stone wall, ten feet wide, was erected as a dam to keep up a head of water for supplying the moat; part of the foundation of this wall may now be seen at low water. A much greater proportion was remaining until 1774, when a considerable quantity of stone was taken away, for the purpose of forming the foundation of Howard Chapel in Mill-street, which was erected under the patronage of the celebrated philanthropist, Howard, for the use of a congregation of Independent Dissenters. If the great philanthropist could arise from the tomb and see his statue in St. Paul's Cathedral, would it not seem to him somewhat out of place? Yet he might be constrained to acknowledge that the Church of England possessed sufficient liberality to honour exalted virtue, however the individual might be opposed to her own communion.

Previously to that time a buoy was moored upon the old wall, to which the barges used to be fastened by the boatmen. From this buoy originated the sign of a public-house in an adjoining lane, very much frequented by the bargemen, called the Buoy and Oar, and the lane itself was called Buoy and Oar-lane. The name of this lane has recently been changed, with very bad taste, into Duck Mill-lane.

The ancient names of places may frequently serve as collateral evidence of historical details, and may indicate the progress and stations of the former inhabitants of the earth, even where history itself is silent; then what a lack of judgment is displayed by changing these names—an act tantamount in enormity, to the falsification or the destruction of ancient records. A few years ago, a good deal of this kind of barbarism was perpetrated at Bedford, doubtlessly with the intention of displaying singular sagacity and cleverness. A street that for centuries had been known as Offal-lane, and is so marked in Speed's map, was changed into Offa-street. In future periods it may be thought to have had something in connexion with the Mercian king, whereas its name originated merely from the circumstance of being the place where the refuse of the town was generally deposited.

The moat of the castle commenced where the Swan Hotel now stands, and extended northwardly 675 ft. to a place now called the Ram-yard, where it turned, and formed the northern boundary, which extended 600 ft. It then ran southwardly by the Keep, and emptied itself into the river.

When the building of the Swan Hotel, about the close of the last century, was commenced, the builder observing that he had to deal entirely with made ground, suggested sinking lower, so that the foundation might be laid upon the rock; as he thought unless that were done, from the looseness of the earth, the safety of the building would be questionable. The surveyor, being a man not fond of receiving suggestions from others, determined upon not going so low, the consequence has been, a settling may be noticed on every side of the building. This fact is sufficient to point out the former existence of the moat in that place. The name of Castle-lane directs us to the barbican, or entrance to the castle, just opposite which, a few months since, in making a drain, a quantity of skulls and other human bones were thrown up. The last remains of one of the walls of the barbican in Castle-lane have been removed during the present year, in making preparations for rebuilding some cottages. It consisted of rough stones, rudely thrown together, and was three feet in thickness.

Fronting St. Paul's-square, and along the line of the High-street, as far as the fortifications extended, a cellar or excavation can scarcely be made without turning up considerable quantities of human remains, showing the sanguinary nature of the conflicts in contending for the castle. The whole line of earth down the Ram-yard shows evident traces of having been made, and the moat on the east remained open as a muddy ditch until within the last few years, when it was filled to make an improvement in the garden of Mr. George Higgins. In laying the foundation of Mr. Higgins' house, a short distance north of the Bowling-green, where stood the donjon, the sally-port of the castle was laid open, which indicated the wall of the outer ballium in that direction.

The mill of the castle, erected upon the outer margin of the moat, stood a little below the site of Bunyan's Chapel, and the street leading to it acquired the name of Mill-lane. The area of the fortifications covered a space upwards of nine acres in extent.

Thus, from rather slender materials, we have been enabled to trace the boundaries of the ancient castle of Bedford, and by so doing we may well comprehend, from its vast extent, its very great importance.

This paper, it is trusted, may be useful to any future compiler of our local history, and it would be well if similar attempts should be made relative to other parts of the neighbourhood, before many vestiges of antiquity now existent be swept away, for—

"A mouldering wall, or antique stone,
The reliques spared by old decay,
As records often stand alone,
Of races that have passed away;
And when historic light is thrown,
With a dim uncertain ray,
Traditions of an ancient state,
A ruin may corroborate."

On the same side of the river as the castle, about a mile below Bedford, formerly stood the rich and extensive

Monastery of Newnham,

Which was founded about the year 1165, by Roisa, wife of Pain de Beauchamp, Baron of Bedford, for Black or Regular Canons. It appears to have been endowed with large possessions; for we find that in the year 1291, when Pope Nicholas IV. taxed the English monasteries, the valuation of Newnham was £89 11s. 8½d., which was considered a large income about that period. Its income, a short time previous to its dissolution, after deducting all outgoings, amounted to £282 2s. 10½d.

The following notices are collected from the Chronicle of Dunstaple:—

"Newenham, or Newham.

"Priors of ——— E ——— ob. 1225.

"His place supplied by Hervey, Prior of Osenev.

"Hervey, ob. 1247, and the Patron being beyond the seas, Walter de Chauverton Canon of the same, was elected three weeks afterwards; but in the mean time, Phillip de Cou, Seneschall of Lord William de Beauchamp, much harassed and afflicted the Canons, by attacking their persons, and destroying their property, all of which he did, as was said, at the instigation of Michael de Quinden and Lady Ida de Beauchamp, which Michael died about that time."

"Walter de Chauverton died suddenly, 1254, and Stephen, Canon of the same house, was elected in his place, who when he was installed by the ordinary of the place, on the Bishop's mandate, William de Beauchamp, patron of the same place, and Lady Hyda, his wife, coming upon them, being vehemently angry at what had been done, by threats and terror compelled the Prior to come out of the gate, and to seek installation from them, which being done, the Lord William took him by the hand and led him into the choir, and again, by his own authority as patron, installed him, in contempt of the bishop of Lincoln. William de Ros, Prior, ob. 1272, and Michael, a Canon, succeeded him. Ob. 1283, and was succeeded by John de Bedeforde, Canon of the same."

From Parry we learn that "in the year 1291, when all the monasteries in England were ordered to be taxed by order of Pope Nicholas IV., the valu-

ation of Newenham was as follows, (the outgoings are not mentioned, as they are in the final valuation of Henry VIII.)

	£	s.	d.
Parish of Saint John de Walebrock, London ..	1	9	4
Pension from Tithes of All Saint's Church, Bedford ..	0	12	0
Pension in Houghton	0	6	8
in Stotefold	0	6	8
in Wrastlingworth	0	3	0
in Hathele	2	13	4
From the Church of Sutho, Hunts	2	13	4
Gynesbury, do.	0	13	4
Rent in Lenthelad, Bucks.	0	10	0
Saleho—lands, rents, &c.	7	1	0
Fruet, gret et dial	1	12	3
Wardon—rent	0	13	8
Rockesdon—rent	0	5	0
Stacheden—lands and rent	3	0	0
" <i>Fruct. greg. et aial.</i> "	1	0	0
Blunham—rent	0	7	11
Sharnbrook—lands, meadows, rents, fisheries, &c. ..	4	11	4
Fruits, flocks, and herds	1	10	0
Furnge rent	0	6	0
Goldington—lands, rents, mills, and meadows ..	3	13	4
Fruits, flocks, and herds	2	16	0
Conpol and Wylton—lands, rents, and meadows ..	1	1	10
Fruits, flocks, and herds	0	13	4
Cotes, Fenlak, Kerdyngton, and Harweden—lands and meadows	1	15	4
Fruits, flocks, and herds	1	6	0
Biddenham—lands, rents, and meadows	3	0	0
Fruits, flocks, and herds	1	6	8
Wotton—land, rents, and meadows	2	4	3
Bedeford—lands, rents, meadows, and mills ..	28	5	4½
Henkesworth, Herts.—lands and rent	1	10	0
Huntingdon—rent	0	7	6
Stodfold—lands, rents, and meadows	6	19	0
Fruits, flocks, and herds	1	9	2
Edeworth and Sugmell—lands, rents, and meadows ..	3	1	9
	£89	11	8½

In the reign of Edward III., the Prior of Newenham was summoned to shew by what warranty he held view of Franc-pledge, and other liberties and feudal powers in Southell, Renhold, Cardenyton, Wotton, Goldington, Sharnbrook, Ravensden, and Bedford. The Prior answered, that he held them by Charter from King Henry I., confirmed by Edward I., and dated at Leicester, in the eleventh year of his reign, by which the regular Canons of St. Paul, Bedford, or Newenham, held the same and others similar to the Burgesses of Bedford, and that they should never be disturbed beyond the forfeiture of 10*l*. The view of Franc-pledge he had not claimed at the last visitation, but now offered one mark fine for the liberty of doing so, which was accepted and granted; he was then asked whether he had, as he ought, a Pillory and a Tumbrel, (a turning Pillory—*Strutt*), in every place, for the punishment of offenders against the Assize of Bread and *Beer* (a salutary regulation), and

other offences. He answered, that he had them only in one place, Sharnbrook, and that he had otherwise punished offenders by fines: being asked how much he had received in his time, he answered *Ten Shillings*. For his neglect in not properly punishing offenders, his liberties were declared forfeited. He offered a fine of 20*s.*, which was accepted, and they were restored."—*Placita de quo Warranto*.

How much it is to be regretted that the compounders of bad and deleterious Beer, are not *now* sometimes exercised in this turning machine, by which they might practically learn the effects of their own mixture on the stomachs of their unfortunate customers!

In the year 1164, Philip de Broc, Canon of the old foundation of St. Paul's, occasioned a serious dispute between the King (Henry II.), and some of the Clergy. He had committed homicide, and on the trial some considerable dispute took place as to the conflicting jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical and Lay Courts. He behaved very ill throughout, and was deprived of his preferment and banished for five years, (Radulph de Diceto, *Imagines Historiarum*). It was this quarrel which occasioned the fatal dispute between Henry and Thomas Becket. (*Lambard's Topographical Dictionary*.)

According to Abbot Benedict, Gerald de Bedford was master and mariscal of the Temple (probably the English Templars), at the siege of Acre. He soon after met with an honourable death in that sacred and chivalrous land; being slain, with twenty-two companions, in some unfortunate expedition or skirmish of the Christian army, which occurred soon after the siege of Acre."

There are now no remains of this building, except the walls; but from these we can form no idea of the building itself.

Parry states that in Buck's view of it, taken in 1730, a great part of it appeared entire, and the cloisters had the usual open millioned arches, and were rather handsome.

Even the Priory Church (in which were interred the remains of one of the wives of Lord Latimer, and one of Edward Clynton, Esq., who married a Duchess of Norfolk) has long since been pulled down.

From the Notes of the Bedfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society, May, 1853, we give the following extract:—"At about the end of 1852, a man found at Newnham, near Bedford, a Roman Imperial large brass Médal of *Antoninus Pius* (Antoninus Pius, Pater Patriæ Tribunitia potestate); and near the same spot a groat of Henry VIII. These have been presented by Mr. Wyatt to our Museum. A few weeks ago a Roman Imperial brass Medal of *Nerva* was found near Bedford. From the account given to us by

the man who found it, this medal was beautifully coated with green patina, which he most diligently scoured off. Certainly when presented to us, it was as bright as one of Louis Napoleon's new two-sous pieces. It was in good condition, and was a desirable specimen; but alas! the new shine brought upon it had given it a most unblushing "Brummagem" look, and greatly reduced it in value. We notice this fact for the special purpose of inducing the members of this Society to impress upon all persons within their reach, the importance of taking the opinion of some competent person *before*, not after, they scour any coins and relics of metal which they may chance to find.

Another discovery has been made at Bedford, of no significance whatever to Numismatists in general, but of considerable importance to our local Archæologists and Historians. It is no more nor less than a Tradesman's Token. We believe that this specimen just turned up is unique, as it does not appear in any of the local collections; and, what is more, it is not included in the list given by our excellent friend, Capt. Smyth, in his valuable Paper on Tradesmen's Tokens; nor is it in the collection in the British Museum. It is a small thin farthing Token of Phillip Nicholles, a Grocer, in Bedford. This Token has suffered considerably by wear; probably Phillip drove a smart trade, and he might have been "close-fisted," and over thrifty, for he certainly has not risked much metal in his coinage. The inscription is perfectly legible, and we are glad to have met with the Token, even in this condition. On the obverse there is a shield in the centre, bearing nine cloves, divided by a chevron; round this is "*Phillip Nicholles*," and a mullet. On the reverse, "*In Bedford 1652*," In the centre, **P * N * S**

We have, therefore, an additional public character to add to the Catalogue of Worthies of old Bedford.

A large underground passage is supposed to exist, which commences in the ruins, and running to Bedford, and through Silver Street, terminates at the Priory Farm. We have heard it stated that when Mr. G. Higgins' house, in Castle Close, was being built, a man, who was digging, happened to slip into this passage as far as his waist, and upon searching round about the opening he found a quantity of bones; and that upon one or two occasions it had been met with in digging wells in Silver Street and other parts of the town. No attempts, however, have been yet made to open this subterranean passage, but no doubt if it were possible to accomplish a search, without loss of life, many hidden treasures would be brought to light, for this formed the only means of communication between the Monastery and the Priory at the time the Castle was besieged, and we are inclined to think it was also used as a burial place, and that Lord Latimer's wife and Edward Clynton, Esq. (whom we have already mentioned) were buried here.

On the north-west of Bedford formerly stood

The Priory,

the site of which is now occupied by a farm, and which was founded by Mabel de Pateshull, Lady of Bletneshe, or Bletsoe, whose family was connected by marriage with the Beauchamps, for the Franciscans, Grey Friars, Friars preachers, and Friars minors, for they were all the same, about 1290. Its present appearance (as it consists merely of a large and old-fashioned building, having a deep roof and windows of the usual conventual style) is little indicative of the former sanctity and great estimation in which it seems to have been held; for, on the south side of the church, which is said to have been a large, handsome, and, indeed, grand structure, the *Foundress* was interred in arched tomb in the middle. Leland describes her tomb as being on the south side of the high altar of the conventual church, under an arch, with an epitaph, in which she was called the foundress. He also speaks of the tomb of Sir Richard Irencester, who was said to have made the body of the church. In front of the high altar *Queen Eleanor* was buried under a flat stone, on which was a crowned (?) brass image, or, as Leland describes it, an "image of plaine plate of brasse encrounid." On the north side, *one of the Lords Moubray* (John Lord Moubray, who died in 1361), a descendant of the Beauchamps, was interred; and in the choir, *Richard Hastings*, Chamberlain to King Edward III. The endowment was by no means rich; and it was chiefly dependent on the prebends of Bedford and Caldwell Priory. The revenues of this monastery when suppressed were estimated only at £3 15s. 2d. clear annual value. The cloister arches are still to be seen; and, judging from the ancient Gothic appearance of some parts of the out-buildings, we suppose that it formed part of the Convent. A barn adjoining to the house is said to have been the refectory. Alianor, second wife of Almaric de St. Amand, ordered her body to be buried near her husband "in the Quier of the Friars Prechers in Bedford," 1467. This convent does not occur in the taxation by Pope Nicholas.

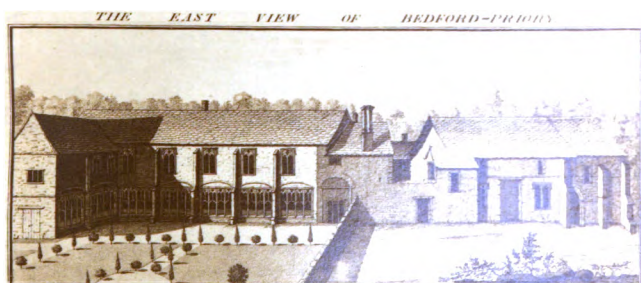
About a quarter of a mile west of Bedford, on the south bank of the Ouse, formerly stood

Caldwell Priory,

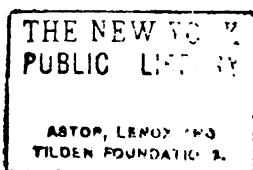
called in 1291 Caldewell, in 1531 Cawdwell, and now commonly, but improperly, Cauldwell. This Priory was founded in the reign of King John, about the year 1200, by Simon Barescot, Bariscot, Bauscot, or Basket, Alderman of Bedford, for the brethren of the order of the Holy Cross, or Holy Sepulchre, and was dedicated to the Virgin Mary; the site having been given by Robert de Houghton, or Houton. It was endowed with land in Bedford and in different neighbouring parishes, as well as some in the county of Leicester, which was valued before the Dissolution at upwards of £160 per annum. The founder conferred the patronage of this convent on Robert de Mareschal. After this it passed to the Latimers and Uffords. Not long after this, the order of the Holy Sepulchre falling to decay, it seems to have been replenished with Austin Canons, and the patronage appears to have fallen to the Priory of Dunstable, in which its subsequent history appears to have merged.



ST PAULS CHURCH



THIS Priory was dedicated to St Paul and was a very large and important religious house. It was situated on the site of the Priory of St. Paul, which was founded by King Henry II. The Priory was destroyed by the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1539. The site of the Priory is now a public house called the 'Priory' and is situated in the town of Bedford.



In the Chronicle of Dunstable, we find the following notice:—

Alexander, Sub-Prior of Dunstable, elected	-	1212
Obiit	-	1229
Succeeded by William	-	-
Obiit	-	1244

"Succeeded by Eudo, who in the year 1249, at the Bishop's visitation at Caudwell, being accused of many crimes by the brethren and others, and fearing the Bishop's judgment, by the advice of the Priors of Dunstable, New-enham, Huntingdon, and Bushmead, voluntarily resigned, and took the Cistercian Order at Merivalle. The Convent, with one voice, on the same day, elected Walter de Cadendon, Sub-Prior of Dunstable, and their choice was confirmed by the Bishop. He resigned the situation in 1272, and Matthew was elected. Walter died eight days after, and was honorably buried by his successor."

"He resigned in 1287, and was succeeded by John de Dylun, Canon. The election was hastened the same day, to hinder some apprehended corrupt sale of the Presentation."

And in Pope Nicholas's Taxation (1291) it is valued as follows:—

CALDEWELL.

	£	s.	d.
Church of Beddingham	-	0	10 0
Northall—lands, rents, fruits, and herds	-	3	8 5
Craule (or Crawley, Bucks) rent	-	0	2 8
Rokesden—land, meadows, and rent	-	6	11 10
Hulcolt—rent	-	0	2 0
Ronhale, mills	-	0	13 4
Fulsham—rent	-	0	5 4
Blunham—lands, meadows, meadows, 'vinar' (cider orchards)	-	2	14 9½
Fruits, flocks, and herds	-	1	6 8
Sharnbrook—rent	-	0	4 0
Cowham—land and rent	-	2	2 6
Bedford—land and rent	-	10	0 0
Fruits, flocks, and herds	-	2	17 0
Schelton, Kimeston, and Bidh'm—land and rent	-	6	10 4½
Gritforde, Sledge, Potton, Sugmele, Stanford, Halewell—land, rents, and meadows	-	3	11 10
Pension in Earnseby, Leicestershire	-	2	0 0
In the Archdeaconry of Leicester	-	3	10 0
In the Deanery of Gostcote, Ditto	-	3	0 0
<u>Gudlakston, Ditto</u>	-	0	10 2
	-	2	17 0
	<u>£52 17 10½</u>		

At the time of its suppression by Henry VIII. it was stated to be a priory of Austin Canons, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. Its clear income was stated to be £109 8s. 5d. In the

year 1563, the site was granted to Thomas Leigh, whose descendants continued there in 1620; in 1682 it belonged to Edmund Gardiner, Esq., who had a seat there, which has been pulled down many years ago, and a farmhouse built in its place. In St. Mary's Church, there is a monument to the memory of Mary Lysons, daughter-in-law of Edmund Gardiner, Esq. The estate continued in the possession of the Gardiner family till about the year 1780. In a field adjoining the farm house, traces of the conventual buildings may be seen: these stand on the south bank of the river, about a mile above the bridge, by a pleasant walk known by the name of Caldwell-walk, leading towards the village of Kempston, westward from St. Mary's Church; and, as Matthiason observes, "though at present remarkable for little more than their antiquity, are probably yet sufficiently interesting to the student of that science to reward the investigations of the curious."

South-west from Bedford, about a mile distant, stand the ruins of

Elstow Abbey,

Which was formerly an abbey of Benedictine Nuns. It was founded by Juditha, Countess of Huntingdon (the wife of Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon), in the reign of her uncle William the Conqueror, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and St. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, in honour of whom it was first called *Helenstow Abbey*. Besides holding considerable rights and possessions, it was endowed by Malcolm, King of Scotland and Earl of Huntingdon (to which earldom the Barony of Bedford was held feudatory at the time), with the third penny of certain tolls collected from the town of Bedford.

Cooke tells us, in his "Topographical Library—*Bedfordshire*," that the revenues of this abbey were valued, at the Dissolution, at £284 12s. 11½d.; and the Lysons, on the authority of Tanner, state that "its revenues, when dissolved, were estimated at £284 12s. 11½d. clear yearly value."

The site was granted in 1553 to Sir Humphrey Ratcliffe, a younger brother of the Earl of Essex; he resided in the abbey house, and died in 1566, as the inscription on his monument over the altar in Elstow Church informs us. There are but small remains of the conventual buildings, excepting the church, which no doubt has been a handsome structure, in the Saxon style; it retains considerable traces of the original structure, and is still used as the parish church. In this church are to be seen the most ancient remains of ecclesiastical architecture in the county; the chancel has plain semicircular arches springing from square massive piers, which the Lysons state are "unquestionably part of the original church of the monastery, which was founded in this place soon after the Norman conquest." The fine old north door of this church is of Saxon architecture, and has a semicircular arch, with zig-zag mouldings; some of the columns are square and very massy, and most of the arches circular. Over this door is a very singular

piece of sculpture, which represents some saint or deity apparently enshrined : on each side of this is the figure of a monk or prophet, evidently in the act of guard or worship ; the whole is beneath a beautiful Saxon arch, ornamented with a bead moulding. The windows of this side, which alone are furnished with battlements, are of Gothic tracery. In the nave are to be seen the remains of the earliest style of Gothic architecture, some of the columns of which are large and octangular, with foliage round the capitals ; the arches are pointed, and have plain deep mouldings ; over the arches are small lancet-shaped windows. The church has a door at the west side which has been very elegant ; the pillars on each side are slender, having capitals richly ornamented with foliage, now much mutilated. It has a detached, square, lofty, massive tower on the north-west. In the south side of the chancel is the tomb of Lady Elizabeth Harway, or Harvey, one of the abbesses of Elstow, with her effiges in brass, placed there in her life-time, with blank spaces for the dates ; but, as she survived the dissolution of the abbey, it is probable that her body never reached its intended place of burial. Some of the nuns (to whom we shall refer further on in the work), who died after the reformation, were buried in St. Mary's church at Bedford.

In this church are several memorials of the families of Crompton, Lovett, and Hillersdon. The great tithes of the abbey were appropriated to the abbey ; they are now the property of Mr. Whitbread, who is also patron of the vicarage, which is in the deanery of Bedford. The parish was enclosed by an Act of Parliament passed in 1797, when an allotment of land was made in lieu of the rectorial tithes. The immortal John Bunyan, author of "The Pilgrim's Progress," "The Holy War," &c., was born in this village in 1628.

At the south-west corner of the church is a small, but singular, Gothic building, with a vaulted roof supported in the centre by a single octagonal fluted pillar, with a plain capital and base, in the style of the earliest Gothic architecture. This is supposed to have been the private bede house or chapel of the abbey.

"Adjoining this is the abbey : consisting merely of a front entirely in a state of ruin ; but forming two sides of a quadrangle of which the church composes a third : the centre of the building facing the east, and having a fine avenue in front towards the road. The principal feature of this, which appears to have been erected in the sixteenth century, immediately on the site and on a portion of the ancient abbey, is a very handsome doorway of the most chaste and beautiful style, having on each side a double flight of pillars ; the pedestals of those below having on them shields, and of those above being carved with heads finely executed ; and having open niches between them both below and above. Over the door is carved the skeleton of a deer's head, probably the arms of the founder, surmounted with a pediment : and the inner door of the vestibule, which is still attached, has on it a large scallop-shell boldly cut in wood. The window frames are in good preservation ; and the whole scene has an air of grandeur which must formerly have been equally

beautiful and striking. The ruins of Elstow Abbey consist at present of a very interesting assemblage which, though of different styles and periods so as to present but an irregular idea of what the place has been, are still sufficient to evince its ancient beauty, consequence, and interest. Both the abbey and the church were until lately so completely overgrown with ivy as to render their appearance in the highest degree picturesque; and being occupied as the habitation of numerous flocks of birds of various species, the soft cooing of the pigeon, the wild creaking of the daw, and the discordant piping and chattering of the starling, presented such a strange and yet harmonious variety of sights and sounds as to give the scene, on a beautiful summer's evening, a romantic and highly interesting cast."

The following lines on Elstow were published in one of the Bedford papers some years since:—

"ON ELSTOW."

An English village is my theme—
The spot I hold most dear;
'Tis situate in what is called
The Vale of Bedfordshire.

'Tis beautiful in rural peace,
And far from boasting wealth;
But numerous cherub children prove
Its balmy gales breathe health.

And history, too, can lend its worth
To Elstow's ancient soil,
Though now 'tis chiefly peopled by
The hardy sons of toil.

'Twas here the immortal Bunyan
The breath of life first drew,
And here the saving power of God
His wondrous mind first knew.

'Twas here conviction's arrow first
His conscience probed within,
And turned his footsteps from the way
Of Satan and of sin.

And now adjacent to the road
His cottage still is seen,
A shrine his name has rendered it,
Though roughly built and mean.

To lovers of antiquity,
The olden parish church
Can offer, in its vaulted aisles
Much subject for research.

This structure, reared in ages past
By royal and queenly hands,
Once registered monastic vows,
But now we hope it stands

To hear a purer Christian faith ;
 Its tribute render Him,
 Who never yet has let the light
 Of Luther's spark grow dim.

And here again is Bunyan's name
 Brought forward to the mind ;
 The seat in which he prayed and sat
 To hear God's word we find.

Oh, Elstow ! famed for peace and health,
 And ancient English lore,
 May God protect thy rustic homes,
 And bless thee evermore.

[S. E. H.]

The following Paper "on the Church and Conventual Establishment of Elstow," was read at a Public Meeting of the Bedfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society, held at Elstow in 1854, by George Hurst, Esq. :—
 "The Conventual Church of Elstow was of high antiquity. Previously to the dissolution of monasteries it was very extensive, and must have been a building of considerable pretensions. All that remains now of the original edifice is the nave and aisles shortened by one bay, which serve the purpose of a parish church. The larger portion of the church is of early Norman architecture, and as a specimen of the period, is not surpassed by any edifice in the neighbourhood.

The monastery to which it was attached was founded about the year 1078, by Judith, niece to William the Conqueror, and widow of Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon, for Benedictine nuns. As a convent, it was very wealthy, and could scarcely be second in importance to any other in the kingdom. These advantages were owing to the rank and influence of the foundress, and to its endowment at a time when royalty had such an immense extent of the forfeited Saxon estates at its disposal. In the Domesday Book are the following entries of land held under the Countess, by the nuns at Elstowe :—Five hides a virgate and a half in Meldone, three hides at Winessamstede, and three and a half at Elneston. The church of St. Andrew of Hiche and Weston was granted to them by a charter of Henry II.

The estates of this monastery were of various kinds, and situated in different and distant parts of the country, showing very clearly that its reputation must have attracted attention far beyond the limits of its own locality. In some instances donations were made at a time when a benefactor's daughter took the veil. An exact account of the possessions of this establishment would be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain, as after its spoliation, according to the usual practice in such cases, the records were carefully destroyed, the new occupants being anxious to obliterate all recollection of charitable claims upon the estate, and of the very questionable title by which they succeeded to the property. From various writers, we find that they possessed two hides and

three virgates of land in Mulshoe, ten and a half virgates in Erendesby, two mills in Risendune, land to the value of four marks in Oxenford, a mill in Dentun, land in Avinton and Burn; the manor and advowson of Inworth, Essex; the rectory of Stonehouse, in Gloucestershire; the impropriate rectory of Hiche, Herts; the impropriate rectory and advowson of the vicarage of Great Tring; lands and tithes at Knaptoff, Leicestershire; temporalities at Hockwold, Norfolk, valued at 15*s.*; ten yard lands at Arnsby; a rent of 20*s.* issuing from the rectory of Braunston, Northants; with lands at Sywell; and lands at Walpole, called Wyldole, granted 2nd Mary to Thomas Reeve and Giles Isham.

The convent ranked variously at different periods; at its first establishment it held the position of an abbey, and did so in the year 1307, 1st Edward II., where the name of Clementia occurs as abbess. In the 1370, 47th Edward III., Anastatia was the lady superior, but took only the title of prioress. Afterwards, in 1487, it is recorded that Margaret Godfrey was abbess of this establishment, and it continued to hold the rank of abbey until the dissolution of monasteries.

There is a flat stone in the south aisle, with an incised effigy in brass to Dame Elizabeth Harvey, who received the temporalities, Nov. 5, 1501. On a fillet inserted in the stone, round the effigy, is this inscription:—"Orate pro anima dominæ Elizabeth Herwy, quondam Abbatisæ Monasterii de Elneſtow, quæ obit — die mensis, — anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo — cujus animæ et omnium fidelium defunctorum Deus propicietur. Amen." It is singular that the places for the dates are left blank, upon which account some persons have supposed that the vault and monumental stone were prepared previous to her death, but that her body never reached its intended place of sepulture. It seems to me more probable that as she died but a few years antecedent to the dissolution, filling in the dates was at first neglected, as many things naturally would be, at a period when there must have been great uncertainty with respect to the future prospects of the institution; for at that time the principles of the Reformation were rapidly gaining ground, religious agitation was directed greatly against monastic establishments, and the grossest calumnies were industriously circulated respecting the habits and moral conduct of the occupiers of religious houses. Agnes Gascoign succeeded dame Harvey, July 11, 1524; therefore we may fairly conclude that she must have died somewhat earlier in the same year. Elizabeth Starkey was the next in succession, and received the temporalities of the monastery in 1529; but she enjoyed her elevation a very short time, and was followed by Elizabeth Boyville, in the year 1530. Her successor, according to Browne Willis, was Elinor Snow, who surrendered the abbey, August 26, 1540; but this must have been a mistake, for Elizabeth Boyville was abbess when the monastery was dissolved, and as such was pensioned. Dame Elinor Snow at the same time held the second place, under the title of prioress.

When the house was dissolved, pensions were granted to the nuns for giving up their possessions peaceably. This faint show of justice in not leaving the occupiers of religious houses in entire destitution, contributed to facilitate the work of demolition. Some of the nuns afterwards resided at Bedford; and there are entries of the burial of four of them in the register of the united parishes of St. Mary and St. Peter Dunstable in that town.

The deed of surrender is still preserved in the Augmentation Office. There are no signatures upon it, but it bears the seal of the abbess, which, with the exception of the legend, is in good preservation. The form of the seal is oval, and it is of a large size. The impression represents, under tabernacle work, figures of the Virgin and Child, and St. Helen holding a cross; underneath are several figures in the attitude of prayer. The inscription is—"Sigillū, —SCE MARIE DE ELENNSTOWE;" probably the obliterated portion should be supplied by the word "Monasterii." At the time of the dissolution, the revenues of the convent were estimated at 284*l.* 12*s.* 11½*d.* per annum.

In the year 1553, the monastery came into the possession of Sir Humphrey Ratcliffe brother to the Earl of Sussex, either by grant or purchase, who made it his place of residence. He died in the year 1566, and was buried in the chancel. There is a mural marble monument to his memory, just over the communion table. The inscription is nearly obliterated, being merely painted upon the stone instead of being engraved, but, as far as it can be deciphered, is as follows:—

"Sir Humphrey Radcliff, Knt., and Dame Isabel, his wife; which Sir Humphrey, second son of Robert, Earl of Sussex, and Elizabeth, daughter of Henry, Duke of Buckingham, and the said Isabel, daughter and sole heir of Edm. Harvey, Esq., and Mary Wentworth, his wife; they had issue two sons: Thomas, deceased, and Edward, yet living; four daughters: Mary, one of the gentlewomen of the privy chamber to Queen Elizabeth; Frances, married to Henry Ched, Esq., sometime secretary of her late Majesty's Council established in the North; Elizabeth, married to Henry Owen, Esq.; Martha, married to William Gostwick, Esq. Sir Humphrey died the 13th day of August, 1566, being of the age of 57."

The property afterwards came into the hands of the family of Hillersden, by whom a manor-house was erected on a portion of the site of the old building. This, as the architecture of the mansion now in ruins, indicates, was about the latter end of the reign of James I., or the beginning of the succeeding reign. The estate was possessed by the same family until 1792, when it was purchased by Samuel Whitbread Esq., whose grandson, William Henry Whitbread, Esq., is the present owner. There is still standing close to the south-west corner of the church, a small square building, now used as a Sunday-school, which is supposed to have been the chapter-house. The roof is groined, and is supported in the centre by a slender column of Purbeck marble. This is all that now remains of the magnificent structure that was

erected as a monument of the piety of the illustrious niece of the Conqueror : besides this, not the fragment of a wall or broken pillar is to be seen to mark the boundaries of a place where, for nearly five centuries, successive assemblages of pious ladies, in cloistered quietude, devoted themselves to the active offices of benevolence, and preparation for happiness in mansions of eternal duration. The ruins of a subsequent building, or the green turf, covers the ancient foundations ; if sufficient excavations were made, the original ground plan might be traced ; but until that be done, we can form no conjecture as to the extent or arrangement of the establishment.

With respect to the church, we have sufficient remaining to guide us in forming reasonable conjectures of its former magnificence. At present there is a nave, with north and south aisles, extending the whole length of the building, and consisting of five bays, the nave being divided from the aisles on each side eastward, by three pure, simple Norman arches, which are, doubtless, a part of the original structure. The piers from which they spring are square and very massive, with recesses, having moulded imposts. That at the north-eastern extremity has in addition the lozenge ornament. Towards the west, the division is made on each side by two elegant Early English arches, resting upon massive octagonal piers, the capitals of which are richly carved, and surmounted by deeply-cut abaci. Those on the north slightly differ from the other arches, which are plain, with deeply-cut mouldings. The arch on the north-west terminates at the apex with a small foliated branch, having a very elegant appearance ; the next arch on the same side, in addition to the simple moulding, has a course of dog-tooth ornament. The soffits of each of these two arches have been painted according to the then prevailing custom ; the hood-moulds at their juncture rest on dripstones with the well-known Early English ornament. It may be a question whether these pointed arches replaced some earlier ones, or were erected to lengthen the church, subsequently to its first foundation : the massiveness of the piers is in favour of an alteration, not an enlargement. The clerestory corresponds with the arches below. At the west end, on either side, are lancet windows, splayed deeply, having slender shafts internally, with moulded bases and foliated capitals. The greater portion of the clerestory windows have been blocked up, and have been treated rather unceremoniously, to accommodate the knees under the beams of a decent Perpendicular roof.

In the angle of the south pier, facing the altar, is a small and curious niche, that might have been a water-stoup or reliquary.

On entering in at the west door, the extraordinary height of the nave is very striking, and gives a powerful impression of the magnificence of the structure previously to being curtailed of its dimensions.

The north aisle has but few indications of the original edifice, having three large Perpendicular windows inserted ; but probably, were the plaster removed, the Norman arrangements would be discovered. The door which forms the



The Green House Elstow. Bedfordshire.
John Bunyan's first Meeting House



Elstow Church. Bedfordshire.

principal one to the church, as now used by the parishioners, is on the north side, and is a good specimen of the Norman period, with the zig-zag moulding well wrought. The spring of the arch is from double shafts, with common diapered capitals; above is a bas-relief, enclosed with a semicircular arch, with a torus moulding, resting upon square jambs. It contains three figures: the centre one represents the Saviour, in the attitude of benediction, surrounded by a vesica, the emblem of his incarnation; on one side is the figure of St. Peter bearing the keys, and on the other the Evangelist St. John, carrying his book of the Holy Gospel. These apostles were the most favoured and important witnesses of our blessed Redeemer's ministration, and being present at his transfiguration, would very properly be selected to form part of a group with him, placed over the entrance into his church. The whole work about this part has been "done up" in compo. In the left hand jamb of this door is a large iron staple still remaining, to which delinquents were affixed as the lesser penance. Over the door is a small Early English light, trefoiled, with a compo sill. On the inside eastward are the remains of the stoup.

The priest's door, which is under the second window from the east, is good Perpendicular, having in the spandrels on the dexter side a heart surmounted by a cross, enclosed in a circle, beyond which is foliage. This is emblematical of the sacrifice made by eternal love for the salvation of mankind. On the sinister side is a shield charged with the emblems of the Passion. This doorway is now walled up, but until recently it led into a vestry of very debased character, having a high pitched roof, covered with tiles, and occasioned the blocking up of a good Perpendicular window. Although this excrescence has been removed, the window has not been re-opened, nor the door restored.

The south aisle has the remains of one Decorated window; the others are all modernized insertions with wooden frames. About the centre of the wall is a common door, made for the accommodation of the adjoining mansion, on the east side of which is a water drain, of rather rude workmanship and large dimensions. This indicates that formerly a chantry chapel was here enclosed. Over this part are some carved wooden corbels supporting the roof, of more elaborate construction than any others in the church; they are of the Elizabethan era. This extra care in ornamentation at a period subsequent to the Reformation, and being so near the door, would indicate that the chapel was converted into a comfortable snuggerly of a pew for the new lord of the conventual estate.

The west end of the building externally is very curious. It consists of a large Early English doorway in the nave, and a smaller one now walled up on the inside, which opened into the north aisle. The pointed arches of each spring from slender shafts, originally elegant, and terminating with capitals and abaci beautifully carved. In addition to this, the large door has some carved foliage, extending above the capital, which makes an elegant finish to the centre moulding of the arch. Over the same is a horizontal dripstone of late date. Above the blocked up door leading to the north aisle is a beautiful

lancet window, very widely splayed internally, the splay terminating with shafts. About five feet above the large door the wall diminishes in thickness considerably, but principally on the inside; from this point it has evidently been rebuilt, as shown by the workmanship and the debased character of the window. At the end of the south aisle, about fifteen feet from the ground, may be traced a small window of debased character and uncertain use. Below this is a window for the newly-formed vestry, which is a small square portion of the aisle partitioned off; and has an original Norman door, which has been brought from some other situation. This little erection has been built judiciously in a plain simple style, so as to agree tolerably well with the general character of the structure. On the north side of the large west door is a buttress of extraordinary dimensions, on the sides of which may be traced a series of small arches, formerly an arcade; on the second stage are the remains of slender shafts at the angles. The arcade formed the interior of the Galilee porch, on the destruction of which a portion was converted into the buttress.

At this part of the church, alterations and disfigurements have been made at various times. The last exploit of this kind was done during the incumbency of a gentleman, who has since attained to great eminence in the church. The improvements made while he held the living, consisted in substituting fir poles for the elegant shafts by the doorway, and having them covered, foliated, and otherwise ornamented with compo; also in other plasterings and daubings, and in removing a good old timber porch from the north entrance. The taste displayed in this removal requires no comment: but the loss of the porch is to be especially regretted, as there are not more than two or three of the kind remaining in the county.

The wall at the eastern end of the church was evidently built after the dissolution, when a great part of the building was demolished. It has two good three-light windows on the same level, and above them is a single four-light window, now blocked up. We might suppose that the churchwardens and impropiator, having suffered themselves, were in dread lest the window-tax might possibly be extended to churches; they seem to have had such a fancy for closing the lights that were deemed so essential by the earlier architects. At the same end, the north aisle has a three-light window, and the internal remains of one terminate the south aisle. These are of good Perpendicular character, having the four-centred arch, and both externally and internally moulded jambs in good preservation.

Between the two three-light windows is a richly-carved corbel, with two cherubs wearing coronets, and lilies interspersed. Underneath is a shield bearing the emblems of the Passion. This corbel was evidently brought from the Lady Chapel, and was intended to support the figure of the Holy Virgin. On the right, a little lower down, is a plain-moulded corbel, and parallel with it, on the left, is one of very large size; it is formed by the figure of a man issuing from the wall, of which the shoulders and breast protrude, and is surrounded with foliage. It is probable that the figure of which this corbel is

formed, was intended to represent that arch-spoliator, Falcs de Breauté, who, in the reign of King John, demolished the prebendal church of St. Paul at Bedford, and other ecclesiastical edifices, to fortify his castle with the materials. This is a fair conjecture, as, in the middle ages, the grotesque figures about a church were often designed with a view to satirize individuals who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the parties under whose direction works were constructed; and even the workmen themselves indulged their humour or caprice in this manner; and this is further supported by a common tradition that it represented a man that robbed the church.

The church is paved with nine-inch bricks, but intermixed here and there with ornamental tiles—part of the original flooring which has escaped destruction. In the chancel are several monuments of fine marble, and beautifully ornamented, erected to the memory of the Lovets, Comptons, and Hillersdens. Of course, being erected in comparatively modern times, for want of harmony with the building, they are no improvement to the general effect of the structure.

Besides the monument, before mentioned, to Elizabeth Harvey, there is another grave-stone of the same description, bearing the full-length figure, in brass, of a lady, her hands clasped in prayer, and a lap-dog at her feet. There have been shields in the four angles of the stone, but only one (the third) remains, bearing party per pale, indented. The first is recorded by Cole to have borne three covered cups, being the arms of Argentine. The remaining portions of the inscription are—" . . . Margeria bis viduata filia Radulphi . . . de Turre Richardi . . . obiit autem anno Dni M.^o ccccxxvij^o in vigil. Sci. Michis. Archangel." This is undoubtedly the tomb of Margery, widow of Sir William Argentine, who, by her will, dated at Aston, in the diocese of Norwich, 26th April, 1427, ordered her body to be buried in the church of the convent of Elstow, giving to the nuns twenty marks for placebo, dirige, and mass, to be celebrated on her anniversary.

The two arches eastward are partitioned off by a screen, to serve the purpose of a chancel, and the place for the altar table is enclosed in the usual manner, and the floor raised by two steps. The pulpit is a pentagon, with perpendicular tracery, and panelled, having buttresses at the angles, with crocketed pinnacles. Both the pulpit and the screen are made of very fine oak, but by way of gilding refined gold, they are both painted and carefully grained to imitate oak.

Some portion of the old benches remains, but interspersed with high backed pews to accommodate the *elite* of the congregation. The font is of Totternhoe stone, octangular, having sunk quatrefoils on each compartment, and animals at the base; it formerly stood at the centre of the north aisle, near the door, but it has been injudiciously placed against the end wall, on blocking up the door.

The church was anciently of much greater extent than at the present time; the nave extended one bay at least beyond the whole of the present building; for, at the right angles with the termination of that part, on digging graves, foundations have at various times been discovered, which prove the former existence of transepts, and we may conclude that the other appendages to an abbey church—namely, choir, lady chapel, cloisters, &c., were also in existence. A central tower, in all probability, at the intersection, gave a finish to the structure.

The present tower is twenty-one feet removed to the north-west of the church, and being of quite late Perpendicular work, was probably built, soon after the demolition of the monastery and the eastern portion of the church, with the old materials. It diminishes in four stages, which gives it a most solid appearance, the wall setting back at each stage considerably; much sandstone is used in the coins and buttresses, and some in the rubble walling; the rest being limestone and Weldon. The heads of the windows are all four-centred, without cusps. The bell-windows are in pairs, with transoms. The whole is surmounted with a small leaden spire. There is a staircase turret at the north-west angle. It contains a good ring of five bells, which have the following inscriptions:

Treble.—Christopher Graie made me. 1655.

Second.—Praise the Lord. 1602.

Third.—God save our King. 1631.

Fourth.—A. B. C. D. E. F. G., and repeated.

Tenor.—Be y^t knowne to all that doth me see, that Newcombe of Leicester made mee. 1604.

Tradition says the fourth bell is the one John Bunyan was accustomed to ring when a young man.

Externally, the church is supported by massive buttresses, that have been added from time to time to support the fabric, which in many places is out of the perpendicular.

The dedication of the edifice was originally to St. Helena, mother to the Emperor Constantine, and to St. Mary; at the suppression of the monastery it was for some time neglected, but after the erection of the east end wall, it was re-dedicated, as a parish church, to the Holy Trinity.

Elstow derives its name from St. Helen, the patroness of the convent, and *stow*, the Saxon word for a fixed place or mansion.

The village still retains some vestiges of having arisen in connexion with an important ecclesiastical establishment. There is in the street a row of cottages, with overhanging chambers and a central gateway, that must formerly have been an hostelry of considerable extent. There are large stews for fish, now

nearly grown up with weeds, in a field south of the church ; and on a green on the north side is the stump of an old market cross, and an ancient moot, or market hall. The privilege is still enjoyed which was granted in the time of the Conqueror, of holding a fair twice a year on Elstow Green ; a great deal of business in cattle is transacted there regularly, and it is of sufficient consequence to induce the attendance of dealers from distant places.

It takes many generations to produce an entire disregard of the traditions that have been transmitted to us from past ages ; the schoolmaster may do his utmost, but he can only partially succeed in obliterating the old notions and feelings ; and the inhabitants of the village of Elstow still cling to their ancient superstitions. They firmly believe that the precincts of the monastery are haunted by a lady in white clothing, whether the spirit of one of the nuns, restless on account of former delinquencies, or the Countess Judith, disquieted at the destruction of her munificent endowment, is not stated ; but many now living testify to having seen the apparition flitting across the green,

“ Muttering her prayer
To the midnight air,
And her mass for the days that are gone.”

In the dead of night also strange lights are noticed in the church, and other appearances, “making night hideous.”

One of the most active of the commissioners who were appointed at the time of the suppression of monasteries to visit the monastic houses in the southern and western counties, was Dr. John London, who appears to have begun his progress in the midland counties. The following is a letter which it is supposed he sent to Sir Richard Rich, the chancellor of the augmentations : it may be found in a volume in the Cottonian Library, in the British Museum (MS. Cotton. Cleopatra, E. iv. fol. 226), composed of letters and documents, which, according to Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., “appears to have been selected at some early period from the Cromwell papers, so long preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster, and now lodged partly in the Record Office at the Rolls House, and partly in the State Paper Office :”—

Right worshipfull, in my most hartie maner I have rae commendyd unto yow, I have pullyd down the image of your lady at Caversham, with all trynkettes about the same, as schrowdes, candels, images of wexe, crowches, and brochys, and have thorowly defacyd that chapell in exchuyng of any farther resort, ffor even at my being ther com in nott so few as a dosyn with imagies of wexe. The image ys thorowly platyd over with sylver. I have putt her in a chest fast lockyd and naylede, and by the next hardge that comythe uppe it schall be browgt to my lorde, with her cootes, cappe, and here, with dyvers relykes, as the blessyd knyfe that kyllid seynt Edward, the dagger that kyllid kinge Henry, schethe and all ; and I myssed no thing here butt only a peece of the holy halter Judas wasse hangyd withall. Here song a chanon of Notley, wiche hadde conveyd home to hys master as great a relik as any of thees befor I com : butt I wyll have hym, and schall send yt to my lorde. And thys

wek folowing I will send uppe Mr. Johan Schorn, and so as many as I fynde. I have occasion for my colledg besynes to go by Aylisbury and Bedford thys next wek, and as I suppose by Northampton. In all thees places be howsais of ffryers. If it be my lordes pleasur I will dispathe them quyeckly, ffor seying they wold fayne be abrode yt wer pytie to stay them. And in dyvers of thees howsais moche ydolytrie have be usyd, and the people sore abusyd. I besek you remembre Mr. Knygtes mater I have movyd yow in; and if by your gudnes it be browgt to passe, I know well yow will herafter moche rejoyse yow dydd ytt. My servant schall be with yow thys wek to bringe uppe the Fryers surrendre, with the relykes of Caversham, and schall also bring yow a tokyn in parchement undre the covent seale from the abbott and covent here. He desyrethe onoly your favour, and no other thinge; and I know so moche that my lord schall fynde hym as comformable a man as any in thys realme, as more at lardg I will tell yow at the begynnynge of the terme, by the grace of Godd, who with increase of moche worschippe longe preserve yow. At Reding, xviijth Septembris.

Your most bounden oratour

JOHAN LONDON.

Upon the suppression of the monasteries, many different suggestions appear to have been made regarding the public uses to which the monastic houses and lands may be applied: some persons maintained that they would be found very valuable for the purposes of education, whilst others entreated that they might be preserved for "the keeping up of hospitality." The king, however, evidently determined that they should be applied to increase the number of bishopricks. Mr. Wright informs us that in MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 182, may be found a draught of a proposed Act of Parliament to embody, in a certain degree, all these purposes, which was drawn up after the suppression of the lesser monasteries, and by which it was proposed "to keep hospitality at the place of the dissolved abbeys; that no bishop have above 1000 marks a year; that all monks, canons, and nuns be closely confined to their abbeys, and have 40s. a year, besides victuals, and abbots £5; that governors be appointed to each house, with a salary of a 1000 marks a year to keep hospitality, if the revenues will answer; and that the rest of the revenues be applied for the defence of the realm, mending highways, &c." In the same volume we have fragments of another project, drawn up apparently at the time of the dissolution of the greater monasteries, and which certainly originated with the king. The commencement is written, and corrected, in the king's own hand, and runs as follows (MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 305):—"Forasmuche as it is nott unknowne the slowghful and ungodly lyff whyche hath bene usid amonst all thos sort whyche have borne the name off religius folke, and to the intente that hensforthe meny off them myght be tornyd to better use (as herafter shall folow), werby Godes worde myght the better be sett forthe, chyl dren broght up in lernyng, clerces nuryshyd in the universites, olde servantes decayd to have lyfynges, allmeshousys for four folke to be sustaynod in, reders of Grece, Ebrew, and Latyne to have good stypende,

dayly almes to be mynystrate, mending off hyght wayse, exhybission for mynysters off the chyrche, it is thowght therfore unto the kinges hyghtnes most expedient and necessary that no bysshopprycys, colegyall and cathedrale chyrchys, shulbe establyshyd in sted of thes forsayd relygyus housys, within the foundasion weroff other tytyles affore rehersyd shalbe stablysyd."

This is followed by a commencement of a preamble of a law written by another hand; and it is accompanied by the following plan for new bishopricks, &c., on a separate sheet of paper, written in the king's hand, but apparently incomplete.

PROJECT FOR NEW BISHOPS' SEES.

[From MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 304.]

Byshopprychys to be new made:

Essex	Waltam.
Hertforde	...	Saynt Albonys.
Bedfordshyre and Buckyngham	}	Dunstable, Nowenham, Elnestowe.
Oxford and Barkshyre . . .	}	Osnay and Tame.
Northhamton and Hontyng . . .	}	Peterburrow.
Mydelsex	...	Westm.
Lecestre and Rowttiland . . .	}	Laycester.
Glocester- shyre . . .	}	Saynt Peters.
Lancaster . . .	}	Fontayne and archdeconry off Rychemond.
Suffolke	...	Bury.
Stafford and Saloppe . . .	}	Shrewsbury.
Not. and Derby . . .	}	Welbek, Worsop and Turgarton.
Cornewall	...	Lanceston, Bedmynne, with another.

Plasys to be altheryd acording to our devoyes whyche have sees in them.

Cryst chyrche in Cantorbury
 Saynt Swytynnys
 Elye
 Durhame
 Rochester with a part off Lydes
 Worcester
 and all others havynge the same.

Plasys to be alteryd into coleges and scolles wonly.

Burton super Trent.

The project of law last mentioned appears to have shared the same fate as the one preceding; but the king carried into effect a part of this plan of establishing new bishops' sees. "Henry VIII.'s intentions regarding Dunstable, Newnham, and Elstow were never carried out."

Early in the year 1537, an execution took place in Bedford which is worthy of some notice here. In the course of the visitation of the monastic institutions by the commissioners, it appears that certain crimes were laid to the charge of the inmates of Woburn Abbey, which was founded in 1145, by Hugh de Bolebeck, and did not come within the Act of Parliament; and that these crimes were of such a nature and so clearly proved, that they were considered sufficient to call for its dissolution. The Abbot and Convent of Woburn, however, endeavoured to defend themselves and addressed the following letter [MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 96.] to the king:—"In most humble and obedient wise shewithe unto your most excellent highnes your contynuall orators and daily bedemen thabbot and covent of your monasterie of Woburn, that whereas we do apperceyve by the relation of your graces commissioners Mr. doctour Legh and Mr. Williams, that diverse and sondrye accusementes have ben made upon us unto your highnes and your graces most honorable counsell, concernynge manyfolde crymes, enormites, and high treason to your excellent maiesty, we beyng inwardely stryken with sorowe and hevynes four that our desertes shulde be suche that any jote of dewe obedience unto your grace (whom under God we do aguisse to be our supreme heed, our comfort and joye) shulde be notyd in us, seyng we be and ever have ben, as we trust in God, cleane frome any suche crymes and enormites, and therfor judging nothing to be so expedient and behovefull unto us as clerely to renounce all pretext of excuse or triall with your grace, by whiche we might percase in our default incurre your majesties high indignacion to our utter undoygne, do in moost humble wise and upon our knees with harte and mynde submytt owr selves and our monasterie, with all the moveables and unmoveables therof, unto your majesties accustomed grace and mercy, mekely desirynge the same to shewe your pitie and compassion upon us in suche godly wise that we maye deserve to contynewe (as we trust we have ben) your perpetuall orators and

bedemen, and to contynewe utile membres of your commen wealthe, to the high lawde and praise of allmightie God, and perpetuall merite and renowne of your excellent majestie, whom almightie God of his infinite grace preserve longe to endure.

Your humble and most obedient oratours and dayly bedesmen,

THABBOT AND CONVENT OF WOBURN."

The above letter bears no date, but Mr. Wright says, it must have been written in the latter part of the year 1536. However, they were not successful, for early in the following year 1537, the abbot and prior and the parson of Puddington (a parish in the neighbourhood) were executed at Bedford. Robert Hobs, the last abbot, is mentioned as holding that office as early as 1524. The estate was given to John Lord Russell in the first year of the reign of Edward VI., and the site of the abbey is now the seat of the Duke of Bedford.

Before concluding our notice of the monastic buildings of Bedford, we ought perhaps to say something of the abbey of Warden, and the priories of Chick-sand and Harwood. Now the abbey of Warden, or De Sartis, in Bedfordshire, was founded by Walter de Espec in 1135, and was furnished with monks from the abbey of Rievaulx. In the year 1146, when the abbey of Saltrey, or Sawtrey, in Huntingdonshire, was founded, Simon Earl of Northampton established there a convent of Cistercian monks from the abbey of Warden. Henry Emery, the writer of the following paper, was the last abbot: he does not appear to have resigned his office till the surrender of his house on the 4th of December, 1538. Abbot Henry's "cawses" for resigning present a curious picture of the ignorance and turbulence of the monks.

"THE ABBOT OF WARDON'S REASONS FOR RESIGNING.

[From MS. Cotton. Cleopat. E. IV. fol. 163.]

This be the cawses folowing whi that I, Henri abbot off Wardon, have made labor to diverse of my frendis to resigne my office.

Firste, immediatele after the kinges graces visitacion was executidd bi his commissioners master doctor Leighe and master Jo. ap Rece, and certaigne injunctions bi them to me and mi bretherne deliveridd to be observidd, mi saide bretherne toke occasion agenste me therat, and said amongst them that I was the cawser whi that thei wer enclosidd within ther monasteri, to this entent (as thei didd imagine) that I might do owtwardeli what I woldde, and they sholdd not knowe it. From that tyme to this presente daie thei have vexidd me with many uncharitable surmises and obprobrius wordes, to mucche and longe to be wreten.

Item, that whereas wee bi the said injunctions be commandid to have earlie lecture of divinite, whe have none; and whan it is redd, few or non of the monkes cum to it.

Item, I ded assigne dampne Thomas Londone to rede the divinite lecture, and he undiscretele (unknowinge to me) did rede the bokes off Eccius Omelies, whiche bokes be all carnall and off a brutall understanding, and entret of many thinges clene anenst the determinacion of the churche of Endglande. And so sone as I hadd knowledg off theis premisses, I toke from him his said bokes and sent to Londone to be deliverid to master doctor Leghe, and dischargid the said dan Thomas off his reding, and cawsid mi brother to rede the lecture; and then fewe or none of them woldde come at him.

Item, for as muche as I did perceave ignorance was a greate cawse whi that theis my bretherne wer thus farre owt of goode order and in continuall unquettnesse, to thentent that I wolde somewhat an inducidd them to understanding, I cawsid bokes of gramer to be bowghte for eche off them, and assignidd mi brother to enstruchte theim, but ther woldde come non to him but one Richard Baldok and Thomas Clement.

Item, they be in nombre XV. brethern, and excepte iij. off them, non understand ne knowe ther rule nor the statutes off ther religione.

Item, in Lente, I did sende for the dampne Thomas Wardon in this housse besinesse, and he did sit at Shesforde all night at the ale howsse, and cam whom in the morning at matens tyme, for the wiche cawse I wolde a ministerid correccion to him, but he declaridd openle before the covent that I hadd no auctorite to correcte him, and steryd them sediciousli agenste me, in so muche that on dampne Cristofer thretenidd me and my servandes. Thus I was in suche fere that I did command my servandes to watche mi chambur iij nightis after, till ther furi was somewhat aswagidd.

Item, where above all other things I have often commandidd bothe the supprior and (as we call him) the *custos ordinis* that ther shulld no seculer bois be conversant with ony of the monkes ne to lye in ther dortor: this notwithstanding ther is on Hewgh, that was a yonge monke here, and he liethe in the dortor every night, but with whome I can not knowe; and the same Hewghe was here yester daie.

Item, the Vth daie of August Jhon Paxton and Henre Gibbeson did take the subprior in a hedge yn the vineyarde with a brethell woman, and he did promise viij^s to the saide Gibbeson to kepe his cowncell.

Item, William Carington, Thomas Bikkliwade, Thomas London, Jhon Cliftone, Cristofer Wardon, be common dronkerdes."

It was in the autumn of 1535, that the general visitation of the monasteries, which led to the suppression of the smaller houses, commenced under the immediate direction of "the right honorable and his especiall gud master, maister Cromwell," secretary to Henry VIII. One of his most active agents was Dr.

Legh, spoken of below. Stow, speaking of the suppression, tells us that the visitors "put forth all religious persons that would goe, and all that were under the age of foure and twentie yeeres, and after closed up the residue that would remeine, so that they shuld not come out of their places, and took order that no man should come to the houses of women, nor women to the houses of men, but onely to heare their service in the churchees; all religious men that departed, the abbot, or prior to give them for their habite a priestes gowne, and forty shillings of money; the nuns to have such apparell as secular women weare, and to go wher thei wold."

Regarding the Pories of Chicksand and Harwood, the following extract from Dr. Rycharde Layton's letter to Cromwell, Henry VIII's secretary, together with Mr. Wright's notes, furnish us with some interesting information:—

DR. LAYTON TO CROMWELL.

[From MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 131.]

Hit may please your mastershippe to understande, that in goyng northwardes from London I towke in my way towardes Lichetelde, wheras I appointede to mete with doctor Leig, firste a prorie of Gylbertyns and nunnes inclosede and close;* wheras they wolde not in any wisse have admittede me as vysiter, I wolde not be so answered, but visitede them; and ther fownde two of the saide nunnes not baron; one of them *impregnait supprior domus*, an other a serving man. The two prioresses wolde not confesse this, nother the parties, nor none of the nunnes, but one old beldame; and whan I objectede agayns the saide prioresses, that if they cowlde not shewe me a cause resonable of that ther conseilments I must nedes and wolde punnisshe them for ther manifeste perjurie, ther answer was that they were bownde by ther religion never to confesse the secrette fawttes done emongiste them, but onely to ther own visiture of ther religion, and to that they were sworne evere one of them at ther firste admission. Another priorie callede Harwolde,† wherin was iiij. or V. nunnes with the priores; one of them hade two faire chyl dren, another one and no mo. My lorde Mordant, ‡ dwellyng nygh the saide house, intysede the yong nunnes to breke up the cofer wheras the covent sealle was; sir John Mordant his eldyste son then present, ther perswadyng them to the same, causede ther the prioresse and hir folysshe yong floke to seale a wrytyng made in Latten; what therin is conteynede nother the priores nor hir sisters

* This was probably the priory of Chicksand, in Bedfordshire, founded about 1150 for canons and nuns of the Order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham.

† At Harewold or Harwood, in Bedfordshire, there was a priory of nuns of the Order of St. Augustine, founded in the middle of the twelfth century, very little is known of its history.

‡ Sir John Mordaunt, who had been sheriff of Bedford and Bucks, in the first year of Henry's reign, and had been employed by that monarch on several important occasions. He was summoned to Parliament as a Baron in 1582.

can telle, sayyng that my Lord Mordant tellith them that it ys but a-lessee of a benifice improperite, with other small tenanderyse. They say all they durste not say hym nay; and the priores saith planely that she never wolde consent therto. This was done sens Michaemas. To cale my lorde Mordant to make answere thus by power and myght in his contrey to use howses of religion of the kinges foundation (me semith) ye can no lesse do by your offes, unleste ye will suffer the kinges foundations in continewauce by every man to be abused, * * * * * By the spedy hande of youre assurede preste and servande.

RYCHARDE LAYTON.

Mr. William Jerdan, F.S.A., M.R.S.L., tells us that "in the collection of papers relating to the Royal Household, published by the Society of Antiquaries, there is an account of the charges of the Households of Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine, from which the expenses of their establishments may be accurately made out; but we are not aware that it has yet been shown in what way those expenses were provided for; or, in other words, by what arrangement, before the Crown became dependant upon parliamentary grants, a sufficient portion of the royal hereditary revenue, which was received at the Exchequer, was made to pass into the hands of the Treasurer of the Household, in order that it might become applicable to the payment of the domestic expenses of the sovereign and his court. The question is one of some interest in connection with the machinery of the government in those days, and will be found to be clearly answered by the following document. In conformity with the cumbrous but methodical mode of transacting business, practised by our ancestors, letters patent were granted by the Treasurer of the Household, authorizing him to receive at the Exchequer, not one definite sum equal to the amount to be expended, but a multitude of small sums, out of certain specified payments, principally fee farm rents, payable to the crown by persons holding land or privileges under royal grants."

This paper from which we have made the following extracts, seems to have been prepared at a late period in the reign of Henry VIII., by the Treasurer of the Household for the information of a Lord Treasurer, or of the Lords of the Council.

Anglia. Assignaciones facte per literas Domini regis patentes Johanni Breknok, Thesaurario Hospicii Regis, pro expensis ejusdem Hospicii factas, patent inferius, videlicet:—

	li.	s.	d.
De burgo Bedd., de feodi firma ibidem, per manus hominum ..	x		
De exitibus, firmis, et revencionibus unius messuagii vocati Roteland, in comitatu Bedd., per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum ejusdem.			xlvi
De exitibus et proficuis subsidii et ulnagii panorum venalium in comitatibus Bedd. et Buk. ac medietate forisfacture eorundem			viii

pannorum venalium, per manus firmariorum sive occupatorum eorundem.

xliij v

De exitibus, firmis et proficuis comitatum Bedd. et Buk., per manus Vicecomitis eorundem comitatum.

xviii v

From Parry we learn that in the year 1535, a short time prior to the general dissolution, a valuation was taken of the annual receipts, with the outgoings, of all monasteries, priories, hospitals, chantries, and livings throughout the kingdom.

Those in Bedford were valued as follows :—

NEWENHAM.—*Spirituals.*

	£	s.	d.
Rectory of Cardington	24	0	0
Stachden	20	0	0
St. Paul's, Bedford	6	0	0
Goldington	8	0	0
Southwell	17	0	0
Berford	24	0	0
Wotton	20	0	0
Willyngton	12	0	0
Ronehal	12	0	0
Ravensden	6	13	4
Salphord	6	0	0
Small tithes, parish of St. Paul, Bedford	3	13	4
From tithes of the Abbey of Warden, in different places	4	5	8
Of Priory of Huntingdon, for portion of tithes	2	13	4
Of Rectory of Hatly Port	2	13	4
Of Priory and Convent of Merton	1	0	0
Of Rectory of Shudlington	0	13	4
Evshott	0	14	0
Of Abbess of Denney, for porc' of tithes in Beddenham	1	0	0
Of Abbot of Pypwell, for tithes in Berford	0	11	0
Of Prior of St. Neot's for porc' of tithes in Eynesbury	0	14	4
Of Rector of Gravenhurst	0	10	0
Of Abbot of Bermusey, for tithes of Mills in Bedford	0	4	0
Of Rector of Holcott	0	5	0
Wrestlingworth	0	3	0
St. Peter's Dunstable, in Bedford	0	13	4
For porc' of tithes in Haughton Conquest	0	4	0
For tithes in Milton Hermytage	0	1	0
For "personalibus" tithes of parish of St. Paul, within the Town of Bedford.	11	11	8
For tithes in Wetherwell, in Parish of Cardington	0	10	0
	£187	13	8

Temporalibus.

Rent and farms in Stolfold	14	0	0
Salphobury	10	0	0
Flavels	7	6	8
Ronehall, Salpho, and Ravensden	12	2	5
Bydenh'm	7	0	0
Rent and farms in the same	2	8	8½

	£	s.	d.
Sharnebroke	8	15	0½
Staunbrige	4	0	0
Cardyngton, Fenlake, Harrowden, and Cotton	12	11	3
Wotton, Stodles, and Canons	15	7	3
Bedford	26	12	11
Southiell	1	19	2
Goldyngton	4	10	7
Edworth and Hynxworth	2	2	9½
Roxton and Chauston	0	6	3
Cogepoll			
Totyngton	0	2	2
Hastleport	0	0	10
Domain of the Priory	20	0	0
	£149	6	0½

WOOD.

Wood and Underwood, ('in sylvis seduis') copse wood:

Stachden, 31 acres	1	11	0
Sharnebroke, 15	0	15	0
Salpho 16	0	16	0
Wotton, 8	0	8	0
Cardyngton, 18	0	18	0
Ronehall, 4	0	4	0
	£4	12	0

Perfuicis Cur'.

Fines, amercements, and other casualities—average	2	0	0
TOTAL	£333	11	8½

Tithes, &c., payable

Bailiff of Bedford, for the heygale	3	11	1½
Vic' of Bedford for certain land in Wotton, Carington, and Goldyngton	0	8	1
Abness of Elstow for porc' in Bedford	1	0	0
Same Abness, for free rent in Bedford	1	0	0
Lord Latymer, for Barony of Bedford	0	1	0
Same Lord, for free rent in Ronehal, Wotton, and Stachden	0	2	0
Lord Edmund Bray, for Barony of Bedford	0	1	0
Same, for free rent of land in Stotfold	2	0	0
William Gascoigne, Kt. for Barony of Bedford	0	1	0
Lord of Balknowe, for free rent of the same	0	1	2
Thomas Goldeston, for free rent in Stachden	0	1	2
Lord St. Amand, for free rent in Cotton	0	3	1
Master of St. Leonard's, for free rent in Wotton and Bedford	0	7	0
Prior of Cawdwell, for free rent in Bedford	0	5	0
Churchwardens of Cardington, for one lamp, to be provided for ever	0	1	6
	£9	3	1½

Penc' et Porc'.

	£	s.	d.
Bishop of Lincoln, for indemnity of All Saints' Church Bedford	0	3	4
Archdeacon of Bedford, for procurations and synodals	3	19	8
Vicar of St Paul's Church, for pension	10	0	0
Vicar of Berford	2	0	0
Stacheden	2	0	0
Salphord	2	0	0
Willyngton	1	0	0
Goldyngton	2	13	4
Hospital of St. Julian	2	13	4
Chantry of Edlesborough	8	11	11
	£30	1	7

Feod' et Vad'.

Fee of William Gascoigne, Kt., Capital Seneshal	2	13	4
Robert Stewkly, receiver	6	0	0
Henry Combes, auditor	1	6	8
Nicholas Cokke, bailiff of Stacheden	0	13	4
John Risley bailiff of Toft	0	10	0
William Kent, bailiff of Wotton	0	10	0
John Stamford, bailiff of Salpho	0	10	0
Fee of the Vicar, 13s. 4d., and escheats, 6s. 8d. (disallowed)	1	0	0
	£13	3	4
	333	11	8½
	52	8	10

Summa Clara - £281 2 10½

CAWDWELL.—*Spirituals.**P'ficiis rectoriar' impropriated to the said Priory.*

Ockley and Clopham	18	0	0
Roxston	24	0	0
Bromham	11	0	0
Mesworth	14	0	0
Ernesby	14	6	8
Tolsunt Major	4	0	0
Portion of Tithes in Bidnam	0	16	8
	£36	3	4

Temporals.

Rent and farms 'infra,' Town of Bedford	11	15	6
Kemston	1	18	4
Elnestowe	0	7	0
Willstede	0	2	0
Girtford	2	18	0
Ockley and Clopham	1	12	4
Bednahm	2	9	2
Milton-with Lega	1	17	10

	£	s.	d.
Bromham	0	15	11
Potton	2	0	0
Roxton and Collesden	10	0	0
Shelton and Wotton	9	10	3
Carleton	1	6	8
Holwell	1	3	4
Willyngton	1	0	4
Cardyngton	0	4	4
Northall with Edysborough	3	6	8
Thurmeston	2	6	8
Lapworth	1	10	0
Sothiell	0	1	6
Barkford	0	5	0
Shernebrooke	0	5	0
Bolnhurst	0	5	0
Ev'shold	0	9	8
Segnehoo	0	2	6
Mogeranger	0	8	0
Letlington	0	0	6
Houghton	0	1	6
Flitwik	0	1	8
Wylden	0	0	6
Newentop	0	0	4
Domain land of the Priory	12	6	8
	<hr/>		
	£70	16	2

Bosc' (Wood).

'Seduis,' copse, woods, wood and underwood, to the number of 70 acres, at <i>twelve pence</i> the acre per annum	3	10	0
' <i>Pflouis cur.</i> ' fines and amercements, and other casualities, average	1	0	0
Total	£161	9	6

'Mis' and 'Repris'—'Pens' and 'Porc'.

"Pens solut." Bishop of Lincoln, for church of Ernesby	0	13	4
Archdeacon of Leicester, for the said church	0	7	7
Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, for the said church	0	6	8
Vicar of the said church	2	6	8
Archdeacon of Bedford, for procurations and synodals of churches within the Deanery of Bedford	1	12	6
Choristers of Lincoln, for annual pension, proceeding from church of Ockley	1	6	8
Archdeacon of Buckingham, for church of Misworth	0	12	0
Monastery of Osney, for portion of tithes proceeding from churches of Clopham and Misworth	8	13	4
Chapel (or Chaplain) of Hawnes	1	6	8
Vicar of Bromham	2	0	0
Chapel (or Chaplain) of Clopham	2	0	0
Pension, for the anniversary of Henry Ruding	0	4	8
Visitation of Bishop of Lincoln, for said Priory and churches of Masworth, Roxton, Ockley, and Bromham, at <i>3<i>l.</i> 19<i>s.</i> 10<i>d.</i></i> each third year,—each year.	1	6	7
Churches of Kempston and Peter Dunstable in Bedford, and tithes of grain in the same parishes	4	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Vestments of the convent, from the donation of Hugh de Beauchamp, proceeding from the church of Roxdon (<i>not allowed</i>)	12	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£26	16	8

'Resol. Redd.'

Of temporals to several persons, as appears by book of particulars remaining	5	4	2
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Fees.

William Gascoigne, Kt. Seneschal of Bedford and Shelton	-	0	13	4
Nicholas Luke, Kt. Seneschal of Roxton and Collesden	-	0	13	4
John Johnson, of Ockley and Bromham	-	0	13	4
Henry Combes, auditor of the same	-	1	6	8
John Fisser, bailiff and receiver of the same	-	4	0	0
Vicar, 13s. 4d., and escheats, 6s. 8d. (<i>not allowed</i>)	-	1	0	0

£161 9 6
 39 7 6

Summa Clara £122 2 0

FRIARS MINORS.

One pasture, containing 3 acres, per annum	-	1	0	0
Another pasture, 7 acres	-	2	0	0
Another pasture, 7 acres	-	1	0	0
Another pasture, at the end of the said close, per annum	-	1	0	0
		<hr/>		
		£5	0	0

'Resolut.'

Reserved rent Master of the Prebend of Bedf. for 2 Closes	-	1	3	10
Prior of Cawdwell for another Close	-	0	3	0
		<hr/>		
		£1	6	10

5 0 0
 1 6 10

Summa Clara £3 13 2

John St. John, Knight, Founder.

ST JOHN'S.

John String, Rector of the Hospital of St. John, Bedford, has, in rent and other things pertaining to the said Hospital—average	-	26	9	0½
		<hr/>		

Payable from thence.

Bailiffs of Bedford for heygale	-	2	0	0
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	£	s.	d.
Lord the King, for free rent	9	11	10
Chamberlains of Bedford	0	0	6
Prior of Cawdwell	0	2	0
Newenham	0	4	8
Abbes of Elnestowe	0	2	6
Prioress of Sapwell	0	0	8½
Prior of Chiksand	0	2	0
Synodals and procurations, Archdeacon of Bedford	0	10	6
Fee of the Seneschal	0	13	4
Bailiff	0	16	0
Alms every year	0	4	4
	£5	8	4½
	£26	9	0½
	5	8	4½
S.C.	£21	0	8

ST. LEONARD'S.

John Pells, Master of the Hospital of St. Leonard, Bedford, has, in rent and farms belonging to the said hospital,—yearly average 20 6 4½

Payable thence.

Bailiffs of Bedford, <i>ad certum</i> the Lord the King	0	13	4
Lord Mordaunt, free rent	0	0	6
William Gascoigne. Kt <i>pro cons'</i>	0	6	0
Michael Fisher, Kt. ditto	0	2	0
Thomas Rotheran, Kt. ditto	0	2	0
Lord Bray ditto	0	4	0
Abbot of Wardon, ditto	0	6	6
Prior of Newenham, ditto	0	10	8
Prioress of Sapwell	0	8	0½
Bailiff of the Hospital, for collecting rent	1	6	8
	£3	19	8½
S. C.	£16	6	8½

These Inquisitions were taken by virtue of a Commission directed, amongst others, to—

Walter Luke, Knight, one of the Justiciaries of the King's Bench.

William Gascoigne, Knight.

Michael Fisher, Knight.

Francis Pygott,
Robert Bulkley,
Nicholas Luke,
William Fitzhugh, } *Auditors.*

Incumbents at that time.

Newenham Priory	-	-	-	-	John Asshewell.
Cawdwell	-	-	-	-	— — — —
Grey Friars	-	-	-	-	— — — —
St. Paul's	-	-	-	-	John Bird.
St. Mary's	-	-	-	-	Richard Mason.
St. Peter's Martin	-	-	-	-	Robert Porter.
St. Cuthbert's	-	-	-	-	Nicholas Dynsey.
St. John's Hospital and Church	-	-	-	-	John String.
Chanter of Trinity	-	-	-	-	Thomas Pye.
Corpus Christi	-	-	-	-	Thomas Negos.
Master of St. Leonard's Hospital	-	-	-	-	John Pitts.

The Earls and Dukes of Bedford.

The first *Earl of Bedford* was *Hugh de Bellomont*, brother of the Earl of Leicester, and son of Robert de Bellomont. He had his earldom given him by King Stephen, with the daughter in marriage of Simon de Beauchamp: notwithstanding this, he refused to do him homage, and fortified the castle of Bedford. After its surrender to Stephen, for want of provisions, he "being a person remiss and negligent himself," fell from the dignity of an Earl to the state of a knight, and at last to such miserable poverty that the name by which he was generally known was Hugh Pauper. The next Earl of Bedford was *Ingram de Coucy*, Constable of France, and earl of Soissons, a man of great merit, who served King Edward III. in his wars with France, and was so highly esteemed by him that that monarch bestowed upon him his daughter Isabella, in marriage, and created him Earl of Bedford, in 1365, the 46th year of his reign, making him at the same time a Knight of the Garter. This nobleman died, leaving daughters only, in 1397, when the Earldom became extinct.

John Plantagenet, the next who enjoyed this honor, was of the blood royal, being the third son of Henry IV. He was created *Duke of Bedford*, in the second year of Henry V.'s reign, and was Regent of France during the minority of Henry VI. The great and memorable services which John Plantagenet rendered to his country are recorded in our English histories, and the narrative of his illustrious actions occupies a prominent position among the records of the English nation. In 1435, the 14th year of Henry VI.'s reign he died, without issue, and the title again became extinct. He was buried at Rouen, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory. When Charles VIII., King of France, once visited his tomb, one of his nobles, who stood by, advised him to cause the inscription to be defaced; Charles, however, replied, "Let him rest in peace, now he is dead; it was when he was *alive* and *in the field* that France *dreaded* him."

The title, with the domain of the ancient castle of Bedford, having fallen into the King's hands through want of lineal descent, in Edward IV.'s reign, it was bestowed on *George Neville*, second surviving son of the Marquess of Montague, who was created Duke of Bedford, in 1470, by Edward IV., with the design of marrying him to his eldest daughter, Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, and degraded in 1478, under pretence that his income was not equal to his rank, and that needy nobles are always burdensome and oppressive to their neighbours. The true reason, however, of the king's displeasure, by which parliament was induced to pass this act, is supposed to have originated with the Duke's father, who had assisted the house of Lancaster, and who fell at the battle of Barnet, in 1477.

The title was then conferred on *George Plantagenet*, the third and youngest son of King Edward IV., but he dying in his infancy, it lay vacant till 1485, when *Jasper Tudor*, Earl of Pembroke, and uncle of Henry VII., was created Duke of Bedford, being honored with that title by his nephew, whom he had rescued at the battle of Bosworth Field.* Dying issueless, the dignity again became extinct; and thus far it was enjoyed by the first possessor only of each family.

The *Lady Mary*, daughter to Henry VIII., (afterwards queen of England,) was created *Countess of Bedford* by her father, in 1537.

The earldom, however, after having been extinct for nearly a century and a half was revived in 1549, in the person of *John, Lord Russell*, who was created *Earl of Bedford* by King Edward VI., and the dignity has ever since been in that illustrious house, with an advancement of it to the title of Duke by King William III.

The history of the noble family of Russell is curious and interesting.

Wiffen, in his HISTORICAL MEMOIRS of this house, claims for it a high descent, deducing the family from Olaf, the sharp-eyed king of Rerik, in the sixth century, one of whose descendants, a Scandinavian Jarl, named Turstain, on the conquest of Normandy, settled there, and became possessed of the barony of Briquebec, in Lower Normandy: of this barony, the territory and castle of "Le Rozel" formed part, and from thence the house of Russel derives its name. The first mention of it occurs in a charter of Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror, dated 1066, to which HUGH DE ROZEL, attached his name as a witness. This Hugh attended William in his invasion of England, and with his four sons, assisted at the battle of Hastings. One of these accompanied Robert of Normandy, in the first crusade, and under the name of the Lord de Barneville, distinguished himself greatly in that expedition. After

* From "A Relation, or rather a true account, of the Island of England; with sundry particulars of the customs of these people, and of the royal revenues under King Henry the Seventh, about the year 1500: translated from the Italian by Charlotte Augusta Sneyd," we find the Duchy of Bedford was valued at 3,000 marks, or 9,000 crowns.

prodigies of valour in various encounters with the Saracens, he perished under the walls of Antioch, universally regretted by the army. His younger brother, HUGH, Lord of Rozel, near Caen, returned in safety from the Holy Land, established himself in England, and became the progenitor of the Dukes of Bedford. It does not appear that Hugh de Rozel, or his sons, obtained any distinguished recompense for their services in the conquest of England. No one of the name of Russell is to be found in 'Domesday' among the tenants in capite, though persons of the name of Rozell and Rozillion, are repeatedly mentioned as under-tenants. It is stated in the 'Testa de Nevill,' that the manor of Kingston Russell, in Dorsetshire, had been in the family of Russell from the time of William the Bastard. If this be correct, they must have held it originally as under tenants, or it must have been granted to them after the conclusion of the survey. It is valued in the 'Testa de Nevill,' at half a hide of arable land, and described as a manor held in serjeanty, under the obligation of serving the king as marshal of the butlery at Christmas and Easter.

We cannot here dwell upon the early history of the Russell family; indeed, after the labours of Mr. Wiffen, there is no occasion for us so to do. Amongst its early distinguished members were Sir James Russell, appointed governor of Corfe Castle, in 1221; Sir William Russell, Knight, M.P., in the first year of the reign of Edward II. for Southampton; and Sir John Russell, speaker of the House of Commons in the second and eighth year of the reign of Henry VI. But it is to John Russell, grandson of the Speaker, that the family owes their greatness and their honors.

Very little is known of the history of Mr. Russell previous to his introduction to the court of Henry VII; he appears to have travelled abroad, and to have attained a knowledge of foreign languages, a sprightly conversation, and a polite address. On the 11th of January, 1506, Philip, Archduke of Austria, and his bride Joanna, the heiress of Spain, and daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, the allies of England, were on their way to Spain, but were obliged by a storm to put on shore at Weymouth, where they were received by Sir Thomas Trenchard, the governor of the coast, who, till he could inform the king of the event, invited them to his house at Wolverton—an embattled mansion, not far distant, which he had just finished building—and sent for his relation Mr. John Russell to entertain his guests. The Archduke was delighted to find so excellent an interpreter, and was equally charmed with his sprightly conversation and polite address: so that when he formed his resolution not to wait for Henry's arrival, but proceed at once to Windsor, he requested Mr. Russell and his cousin by all means to attend him on his journey. During the entertainments that followed the political discussions of the two monarchs, the Archduke spoke of Mr. Russell to the king, as a young man of the most promising endowments, to whose courteous attentions he felt himself indebted, and who, from his varied knowledge and capacity, was well fitted to do credit to any employment with which he might be charged. The commendation excited Henry's curiosity, whose practice it was to engage in

his affairs the ablest men he could discover, and who was perpetually making notes and memorials whom to employ, to intrust, to inquire of, or to reward.

Mr. Russell, having been taken to Windsor and introduced to the notice of the King by Philip, was appointed by Henry VII. one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber. From Mr. O'Byrne we learn that Mr. Russell was continued in this situation by Henry VIII., whom he accompanied, on the breaking out of hostilities with France, to the continent as a volunteer. In the war that followed, he distinguished himself as an active and successful partisan; and on the surrender of Tournay, was named deputy-governor of that fortress, and had a grant of lands in the newly conquered country, in testimony and recompense of his services. In a subsequent war he signalized himself at the capture of Morlaix, lost an eye on the occasion, and with Sir Thomas Morland Oken, received the honour of knighthood on the spot from the Earl of Surrey, Admiral of the fleet. In 1523, he was sent on a secret mission to the constable of Bourbon, who in resentment of his private injuries had offered to betray his country, and open to the enemies of France an entrance into the heart of the kingdom. Russell reached Chantilly without discovery, and concluded a treaty with Bourbon according to his instructions. But the plot being surmised or detected before it was ripe for execution, the constable, instead of accomplishing his treasonable purpose, was compelled to escape as a fugitive from the country he had intended to betray; and returning with a band of foreigners, he was baffled by the perfidy of his German mercenaries in his attempt to penetrate into France. On this discomfiture, Bourbon repaired to the imperial army in Italy, and Russell remained in communication with him at Besançon. In the following campaign, Russell appears to have found great difficulty in conveying to Bourbon, the money intrusted to his care for the use of that adventurer, in his projected invasion of Provence. He remained with the constable in Italy after the battle of Pavia, till the departure of the latter for Spain, when the court of England having changed its system of foreign policy, he was recalled, and soon after sent a second time to Italy, to negotiate with the pope, who had also abandoned his former ally, and entered into a league with Henry, and France, against the emperor. In his second mission, Sir John Russell had no small difficulties to contend with in the course of his negotiations, owing to the fears and vacillations of the papal court, and the preponderance of the imperialists in Italy. In a third mission he was sent to Bologna, to confer with Lautree, commander of the French armies in that country. Subsequently appointed, through the influence of his friend CROMWELL, comptroller of the household and a privy councillor, he was, on the birth of Edward VI., March 9, 1539, advanced to the dignity of a baron of the realm, by the style and title of *Lord Russell, Baron Russell of Cheyneys in Buckinghamshire*, and received considerable estates, to enable him to support the dignity of his position.

We learn from Mr. Wiffen, that he had not been many months returned from Italy, when his affections were engaged by a lady of great merit and pretensions, who, herself an heiress and the descendant of a line that had en-

riched their shields with many a scutcheon of pretence, was as much an object of consideration on the score of birth and fortune as of personal endowments. Sir Richard Sapcote, her ancestor by three removes, was of knightly rank in Huntingdonshire, in the reign of the fourth Edward, by whom he was appointed sheriff of the county, and preferred to other offices of trust. Her grandfather, Sir William, had the good fortune to captivate the heart of the last heiress of the Semarks, who, deducing their lineage from Sir Geoffrey, surnamed of St. Medard in Normandy, transmitted to her Thornhaugh, Eaton-Socon, and various other manors in the counties of Bedford, Huntingdon, and Northampton, which in the time of the Conqueror that redoubted warrior held, by tenure of military service to the abbots of Peterborough. Sir William, whose family would seem to have been, in their time, partisans of the White Rose, favouring some one of those factions which troubled the late reign, had these estates confiscated; but on the petition of his son, Sir Guido, the attainder and sequestration were taken off by act of parliament; and thus Anne his only daughter, had very early in life been an object of attraction to the knights around her. She accepted for her first husband Sir John Broughton, of Toddington, in Bedfordshire, but a few years deprived her of his protection; and in 1518 she was introduced at court as the wife of Sir Richard Jerningham. She was one of those appointed to attend upon the queen, on the occasion of the splendid interview of the Field of the Cloth of Gold; whilst Sir Richard, as we have seen, was one of the governors of Tournay, and afterwards employed in an embassy to Spain. But in 1524 she again became a widow, and being still in the undiminished bloom of youth, had other suitors shortly at her feet. To the entreaty of these she might have proved regardless; but Sir John's perseverance and the sovereign's wishes, in days when the sovereign still claimed a feudal voice in the disposal of his female wards, induced her finally to acknowledge his deserts; and early in the spring of 1526, their nuptials were celebrated with the festivities usual in that gay and masquing court; and but little doubt may be supposed to exist,

"That Wolsey's voice the blessing spoke,
More, Sands and Denny passed the joke;
That bluff King Hal the curtain drew,
And Catharine's hand the stocking threw."

MARMION.

Alluding to the immense territorial possessions of the Russells, whose greatness commenced with the reign of Henry VIII., PENNANT observes, "No family profitted so much by the plunder of the church as that of the Russells. To the grant of Woburn in 1547, it owes much of its property in Bedfordshire and in Buckinghamshire; to that of the rich abbey of Tavistock, vast fortunes and interests in Devonshire; and to render them more extensive, that of Dunkswell was added. The donation of Thorney abbey gave Lord Russell an amazing tract of fens in Cambridgeshire, together with a great revenue. Melchburn abbey increased his property in Bedfordshire. The priory of Castle Hymel gave him footing in Northamptonshire, and he came in for parcels in the appurtenances of St. Alban's, and Mount Grace, in York-

shire; not to mention the house of the friars' preachers, in Exeter, and finally the estate about Covent Garden; with a field adjoining called the seven acres, on which Long Acre is built." "The grants to the house of Russell," says BURKE, "were so enormous as not only to outrage economy but to stagger credulity." To enter into a particular enumeration of these would be but irksome to the reader; contenting ourselves, therefore, with Pennant's succinct account as above furnished, we will proceed with our sketch of John, Lord Russell, who shortly after his elevation to the peerage, was made knight of the garter, and appointed lord warden of the stannaries. In 1541, he was constituted lord high admiral, and named president of the council, which was instituted for the administration of justice in the south-western counties. In 1543, he was made privy seal, and in the last expedition of Henry to France, assisted at the taking of Boulogne, and commanded with the Duke of Norfolk, at the siege of Montreuil. After his return to England, he was actively employed in providing for the defence of the south-western coast, against a threatened invasion of the French; and on the death of the king, was one of the sixteen executors named in his will. During the reign of Edward VI., he was employed in repressing a formidable insurrection in Devonshire and Cornwall, which had been provoked by the innovations in religion, and the extensive enclosures of commons. He had been similarly employed in Lincolnshire, in the former reign. For his services on this occasion, he was further raised, January 9, 1550, to the *Earldom* of Bedford, and the site and circuit of the suppressed Cistercian Abbey of Woburn was at the same time granted to him. In April, 1551, he was constituted commissioner and lord-lieutenant of the counties of Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall: and in July, as warden of the stannaries, on the occasion of some disorders in the royal mines, was engaged in measures for their better management. In Mary's time, the same courtly sunshine continuing, his lordship obtained a new patent, dated Nov. 3, 1553, for the office of Lord Privy Seal, and was sent to Corunna, to obtain the ratification of the marriage articles between Mary and Philip, before the arrival of the latter in England. Dying soon after his return, March 15, 1554-5, "he left," says Mr. Wiffen, "the reputation of being almost the only nobleman at court, who by his prudence, moderation, and innate gentleness of heart, had managed to stand well with all parties, during the changes, the trouble and factions of four successive reigns."

Mr. Lodge, in summing up his sketch of the first Earl of Bedford, has observed; "We know little of his character. His friends have neglected to transmit to us an account of those merits which could challenge such a vast extent of court favour: his enemies, too, have been silent as to those faults which their envy of that favour might naturally have led them to record. Yet the detail given of his services is sufficient to assure us that he possessed no mean abilities; and if the conduct of such a man has escaped detraction, it justly demands our good opinion."

The first Earl of Bedford was not only a great encourager of the literature of his time, as appears by the incidental remarks of subsequent writers in the

dedication of their works to his successor, but that he wrote two Latin treatises himself, which prove his attainments in Divine truth, viz. one volume on the Rights due to the Civil and Ecclesiastical Authorities; and another of Comments on the Canticles.*

Francis, Lord Russell, the Second Earl, succeeded to the earldom in 1557, in the twenty-seventh year of his age. He was a person of great eminence, had been high sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire in 1547, and had sat for the county of Northumberland in 1547, forming the first precedent in our history of the eldest son of a peer being returned member of the House of Commons. He married, early in life, Margaret, widow of Sir John Gostwick, of Willington, Bedfordshire, and daughter of Sir John St. John of Bletso, an honorable family, which traces its origin to William de Saint-John, grand master of the munition at the Conquest. The memory of her many virtues has been saved from oblivion by the Latin verses of Pietro Bizzari—an Italian writer of purity and elegance, at that time resident in England, who appears to have been received on a footing of some intimacy by the family of the Earl of Bedford, as he has addressed to the members of it no fewer than seven of his compositions.†

In 1561, the Earl married Lady Bridget, daughter of John, Lord Hussey, and widow both of Sir Richard Morrison, the able negotiator, and of Henry Manners, Earl of Rutland. This Countess of Bedford survived her husband many years. At the funeral of Mary, Queen of Scots, she officiated as chief mourner, assisted by the Earls of Rutland and Lincoln, her train borne by the Lady St. John of Basing, assisted by Mr. John Manners, vice-chamberlain. She died January 12, 1600, at the age of seventy-five years, and was interred at Watford.

The character of Francis, Earl of Bedford, is thus drawn by Mr. Lodge:—
“He loved his country entirely, and devoted himself to it on the only just principles of public service,—loyalty to his prince, reverence to religion, and submission to the laws. He had talents capable of directing the most impor-

* See Appendix, No. XXIII.

† They are printed by Aldus, in a little 12mo volume, entitled “*Petri Bizzaria Opuscula*.” It is scarce; and is valuable from the tributes which it contains to various personages who at this time figured at the English and Scottish courts. The following is a version of his lines

On the Death of Margaret, Countess of Bedford.

No pearl, no brilliant from the main or mine,
In its pure lustre e'er could image thine!
In thee thy consort's virtues were combined,
The gentlest manners and the sweetest mind;
Birth, beauty, wit, integrity, and trust,—
So humbly holy, so devoutly just,
That, as on earth thou mov'st in sunshine,—dead,
Stars form thy crown, and Heaven sustains thy tread.

tant state affairs; but those talents were in a manner governed by a noble simplicity of mind, so contrary to the spirit of party and political intrigue, that he always declined accepting the great offices which were repeatedly offered to him, choosing to serve his prince rather with his person than with his council, and preferring obedience, regulated by his own honesty, to that affectation of authority which must occasionally submit to the interests and the caprice of colleagues. The vast wealth which he inherited in his youth from his father, seduced him neither into indolence, debauchery, nor pride. His charity was as pure as his patriotism, and as free from vanity as that from ambition. He seemed to hold his weighty purse but as a trustee for the unfortunate. To conclude this slight sketch, in the concise but comprehensive words of Camden, 'he was a true follower of religion and virtue.'"^{*}

A correspondent testimony is borne by an eye-witness of his sufferings and faith. "I have been," says Dr. Thomas Sparkes, "both an eye and an ear-witness, that in respect of sins he had infallible tokens of a very broken and contrite heart; yet, casting his eyes upon God's mercies towards such in Christ, no man could be more comforted and raised up again. Notwithstanding he was as free from the common corruptions of the world (whereunto men of his place are greatly assaulted and provoked to fall), and as full of love and charity, and all the fruits thereof, as lightly amongst men any can be found; yet this I can testify of him, and so I think can all that knew him, that he was never the more puffed up with any conceit of his own righteousness; yea, though his course of life and dealing with all men was such, that he got this title commonly in the mouths of all—"the good Earl of Bedford;" yet still his cry was, that only in Jesus Christ and his merits were all his hope and trust concerning his salvation."[†] This testimony proves that he had long assiduously aimed at that substantial crown of Christian perseverance, before which the eminence of rank, the dignities of office, and all the high rewards of honourable ambition, lose their radiance, like stars that wane away before the light of morning. As his end drew nearer, he was blessed with a sense of merciful acceptance; under the influence of which he joyfully exclaimed, "Satan is chained! the seed of the woman hath broken the serpent's head! even for me!" And shortly before his dissolution, after joining in prayer with a minister of his household, he observed: "thus believe I in my heart to justification, and confess with my mouth unto salvation."[‡] In this peaceful frame of mind he is stated like a taper to have waned away, and without a gasp or groan to have yielded up his spirit on the 28th of July, 1585.

Francis, Earl of Bedford, was godfather to Sir Francis Drake, the celebrated navigator, who was a native of Tavistock. Besides the earl's bequest to University College, he founded a free-school at Woburn, the statutes of which he himself drew up. A handsome monument is erected to his memory in the chapel at Chenies, exhibiting the figures of the earl and his first countess in

^{*} Memoir in Chamberlain's Cartoons of Holbein.

[†] Funeral sermon, 12mo. Oxford, 1594

[‡] Ib.

full proportion, in alabaster, coloured, lying supine, with shields of arms, and notices of all their family around the sides, and a suitable inscription in gilt Roman capitals.

Edward Russell, third Earl of Bedford, the son of Sir Francis Russell, and consequently grandson of Francis, the second Earl, was little more than eleven years of age when he succeeded to the earldom in 1586. On the 12th of December, 1594, he was married to Lucy, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Harrington* of Exton, at his seat at Stepney—a lady not more celebrated for beauty and vivacity of wit than for her generosity to men of genius, the taste which she carried into all her pursuits, and the success with which she cultivated some of those lighter sciences that minister to taste its most refined gratification.

He died on the 3rd of May, 1627, and on Wednesday night, the 11th, was privately interred at Chenies. The Countess survived her husband but a short time: she died on the 26th of the same month.

Francis Russell, fourth Earl of Bedford, grandson of Francis the 2nd Earl, being the only son of the heroic William, Baron of Thornhaugh, succeeded his cousin Edward. He had been knighted by King James at Whitehall, on the 30th of March, 1607, and in the following year had married Catherine, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Giles Brydges, third Lord Chandos of Sudeley, by Frances, daughter of Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln.

From Mr. O'Byrne, we learn that Francis was early engaged in the struggles against prerogative, excited by the arbitrary language and proceedings of the two first princes of the House of Stuart. At the meeting of the great parliament, he was considered one of the principal leaders of the popular party; on the sudden and total discomfiture of the court faction, application was made to him and to his friends, to accept the administration of affairs, the only condition required from them being to save the life of the Earl of Strafford. Some particulars of the arrangement proposed, are mentioned by the Earl of Clarendon, but it seems doubtful, whether the conditions could have been complied with, and nothing was definitely settled, when the sudden death of the Earl of Bedford, put an end to the negotiation. The Countess of Carlisle, who gave intelligence to the five members, of the king's design, to go in person to the House of Commons, and arrest them in the midst of that assembly, was daughter of the Earl of Bedford. She was told of the plot, with exultation, by the queen, who thought it already executed. Lady Carlisle said nothing, but took her leave as soon as possible, and instantly sent a messenger to the house, who arrived just in time to save her friends, and perhaps her country from destruction. Her father was the principal under-

* Arms; *Sable*, a fret *argent*.

taker of that great and expensive, but so highly beneficial work, for draining the fens in Bedfordshire, called the *Great Level*, and since, the *Bedford Level*.

Mr. J. H. Wiffen, M.R.S.L., says, that in 1630, this Earl gave his thoughts to an undertaking highly patriotic in its principle, and vast in its design. That extensive tract of fen land, embracing a large portion of Huntingdon and Cambridgeshires, but reaching also into the surrounding counties of Norfolk, Lincoln, and Northampton, which at this period was known by the name of The Great Level, had been celebrated by the historian of Henry the Second, for the extraordinary beauty of its verdure, —its plains without a waste, its very marshes planted with the noblest forest-trees, and the more fertile portions delightful with apple-trees and vines.* About three centuries afterwards, it was inundated with floods, which converted this inland Eden to a watery waste, fit for grazing only during summer, when the water was exhaled by heat in an atmosphere little less unhealthy than the climate round the Pontine marshes. In this state it had subsequently lain, with the exception of some partial drainages by private individuals. It at length engaged the attention of King James, who declared that he would no longer suffer the land to be abandoned to the waters. Plans were accordingly made, estimates formed, and commissions issued in favour of such as might be willing to commence a general drainage; but disputes arising, the king himself, for 120,000 acres of the waste, became the undertaker of the great work, and invited over from the Low Countries Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, to carry his project into effect. Vermuyden obtained for himself and the foreign adventurers whom he persuaded to embark with him in the speculation, a grant of this allotment from the crown. But meanwhile a strong jealousy of foreign intervention became rooted in the minds of the people of those parts, who, in their aversion to the Flemish engineer, earnestly solicited the Earl of Bedford, himself the proprietor of large domains round Whittlesea and Thorney, for the good of the whole country, to become the head and patron of the princely undertaking. Their request was seconded by a court of the commissioners of sewers held at Lynn; Vermuyden's contract was abandoned, and the earl assented to their call. "A more striking instance of self-devotion to the wishes of the people, and the real benefit of the state, appears not," says the historian of the Fens, "upon the records of history. The earl saw before him the brightest prospects; Hope dawned over a dreary waste; in the ardour of his imagination a new world arose to crown his efforts, and enable him to deserve from posterity a monument of its unceasing gratitude and admiration."† By a contract entered into, on a commission issued by the crown, and enrolled in the Court of Chancery, September 1, 1630, the earl was to have 95,000 acres of the inundated land as his return for the expense and hazard consequent upon the drainage. He associated with him fourteen other gentlemen, whom his spirited example allured to take inferior shares,

* William of Malmesbury's Description of Thorney.

† Well's History of the Bedford Level, vol. i. p. 106.

and the work was pursued with extraordinary zeal and perseverance. In 1637, the earl had expended on the task the immense sum of 100,000*l*. The execution of the work being at first adjudged defective, his grant was restricted to 40,000 acres; but he still persisted in his project with an assiduity suited to his singularly energetic mind, undepressed by the many serious obstacles that impeded its accomplishment. The calamities which fell upon the nation in his latter years necessarily diverted his attention from this favourite scheme, and he had not himself the satisfaction of witnessing its completion. But when the Civil Wars had terminated, leaving leisure and security for the cultivation of the arts of peace, the labour was resumed by his successor in the earldom. And the original grant being renewed, at a session held at Ely on the 2nd of March, 1653, it was decreed that the magnificent undertaking was completely achieved;—a triumph altogether unexampled in the history of British agriculture, amidst the many trophies of that “rural industry,” beneath the magic of whose toils, as it is happily described by Thomson,

“New scenes arise, new landscapes strike the eye;
Gay plains extend where marshes slept before;
O’er recent meads exulting streamlets fly;
Dark frowning heaths grow bright with Ceres’ store,
And woods embrown the steep, or wave along the shore.”

The same writer gives us the following interesting account of the marriage of the Duke’s eldest son, William:—“He had been created a knight of the Bath at the coronation of the king. After the completion of his education at Magdalen College, Oxford, he travelled for two years, and returned in the winter of 1634, an extremely handsome and accomplished gentleman. There were at this time three young beauties of almost equal personal attractions, who divided the admiration of the court, the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, Lady Anne Carr, and Lady Dorothy Sidney. Upon one of these Lord Russell was expected to fix his choice; and, being heir to so considerable a fortune, his movements were watched with no small curiosity by that numerous tribe which flutters in the sunshine of court fashion. It was some time before his intentions were divined; but the constraint of his demeanour at length betrayed his secret partiality. “The voice goes,” says a writer of the day to Sir Thomas Wentworth, “that he bends somewhat towards the Lady Anne Carr.” She was the sole daughter of the Earl and Countess of Somerset, and was born December 9, 1615, whilst her mother was imprisoned in the Tower. During the years that intervened between her birth and the eve of womanhood, the strong public sentiment excited by her parents’ ignominy, though it is impossible it could be yet obliterated, had had leisure to subside. Nor in the absolute wreck of favour and fortune which Somerset sustained, heightened as it unnecessarily was by the merciless nature of the late king’s confiscations, were there wanting numbers who regarded *his* misfortunes with indulgence and compassion. Under these circumstances, it can be no subject of surprise that his daughter had grown up in total ignorance of the misconduct of her parents; whilst every care that parental fondness could suggest had been

lavished on her education. It was perfectly possible—it was natural, and accordant with every generous impulse of the heart, for a young nobleman, enamoured of the charms of this interesting object, to separate her image from the blighting associations connected with her parents: but it was different with older and discreeter men; and there were perhaps few families that would not have shrunk from an alliance with even the beautiful and virtuous daughter of the house of Somerset.

The Earl of Bedford had stood prominently forward on the day of the countess's condemnation; for, as she went to Westminster Hall to undergo her trial, himself and the Lord Norris, with two other knights or barons, had formed part of her escort, following the six sergeants-at-law and the clerk of the crown in Chancery, who were preceded by Sir Richard Coningsby with the white staff of office. Whether this were the result of his own choice, or an arrangement of the royal heralds, he could not but have participated in the general abhorrence that attended the disclosure of her guilt. Anxious now both for his son's welfare and the honour of his house, he warned him to be upon his guard against the dangerous beauty of Lady Anne Carr, but freely permitted him to seek a bride any where besides. Affection is, however, no passive creature of the will: the eyes of Lord Russell, dazzled by this lady's charms, might also see it as no part of pure justice thus to make the daughter pay the mother's penalty to stern opinion; a passionate attachment sprang up between the two, before which every lighter consideration of policy and prudence was quickly extinguished. The earl opposed their union; the prohibition but increased their flame: and a war of conflicting wishes, regrets, and troubles, thus arose, which threatened to disturb for ever the peace of either the father or the son. Many mutual friends endeavoured to mediate a satisfactory conclusion of the affair, but none could conquer the earl's repugnance to the match, till the king himself became a suitor, sending the Duke of Lennox with urgent entreaties to persuade him no longer to withhold his countenance from the connexion. His intercession took effect, and a treaty was commenced. The earl's high requisitions and the poverty of Somerset created fresh delay; but at length, by the sale of his house at Chiswick, his plate, his jewels, and his household furniture, a portion of 12,000*l.* was raised by Somerset; who is said to have acknowledged to the lord chamberlain, that as one of them was to be undone if the marriage went not on, he chose that it should be himself rather than his own deserving child. The anecdote is an affecting one; and the self-sacrifice which it implies, may, even by the moralist, be permitted to go far towards redeeming his memory from shame. All obstacles being removed, the marriage was celebrated during the Easter of 1637.* The undisturbed happiness and harmony in which the parties lived, soon reconciled the earl to the connexion; and, eminent in all the duties of civil and domestic life, the Lady Anne Carr is only now remembered as the virtuous and happy mother of the great and good Lord Russell.

* Arms; *Gules*, on a chevron *argent* three mullets *sable*, in the dexter part of the escutcheon a lion passant guardant *or*.

Francis, known to his contemporaries by the title of "the Wise Earl of Bedford," died of small-pox, on the 9th of May, 1641. Every one but the most furious partisans of monarchy received the tidings with inexpressible regret; and the House of Lords, upon the following day, recorded on its journals their sense of the great loss which they had especially sustained. Nor was this the only public mark of respect which they shewed to his memory; on the 14th, the day appointed for his funeral, most of the house of peers, with their servants, attended at Bedford House, to the number of three hundred coaches,* to accompany the body to its last home. After remaining awhile there, the coffin, overlaid with lawn, being put in a chariot, covered with black velvet, and surmounted with four plumes of feathers, the whole mournful procession moved along. First came four gentlemen, each with a black rod in his hand, followed by thirty in sable; then another carrying his banner, preceding six-and-thirty more. To them succeeded two with white rods in their hands, another with a banner displayed; then Dr. Burgess, followed by two squires; four heralds in their coats; the Garter King-at-arms; the coaches, with two gentlemen on each side of every coach, bearing banners,—succeeded by fifty other carriages with six horses in array, and all the rest in due heraldic order.† With this melancholy pomp they proceeded on the road to Chenies; and there, after the celebration of the usual service, the mortal remains of this great earl were consigned to the vault of his forefathers, amidst the tears and prayers of the assembled multitude. A stately monument is erected to him in the adjacent chapel. His countess, Catharine, survived him till the 30th of January, 1657, when she was laid beside him in the same depository.

William Russell, Fifth Earl of Bedford, succeeded his father in the year, 1641. He had been returned with Mr. Pym for Tavistock to the House of Commons, and had represented Tavistock in the long parliament of 1640; we learn from *Lords' Journals*, vol. iv. pages 169, 226, 233, that he had frequently been selected to communicate messages of the Lower to the Upper House. Shortly after his father's death, the House of Lords sent a deputation to him, with the expression of its desire, "that he would repair to them as soon as his sorrow would give him leave, for that none could supply so well the place of his deceased father." He first took his seat in the House of Peers on the 17th of May, and his name was soon added to all the standing committees. In 1642, he was made General of Horse, and besieged Sherborne Castle.

The Earl of Bedford was attended by Sir Walter Earl, Mr. Hollis, and Lieutenant Essex, a soldier who had reaped some reputation in the wars of Flanders. He had four pieces of cannon, eight full troops of horse, and seven thousand new recruits, which he encamped in a field north of the castle. Whilst lying there, he received a challenge from Lord Hertford to a duel, which he is reported to have temperately declined, but to have promised to

* Harl. MSS. Cod. 477. *Journal of John More, Esq.*

† *Journal of John More, Esq.*

accept it when the service of the parliament would give him leave. He found the castle infinitely stronger than had been represented, so that small impression could be made by his insufficient ordnance, whilst his raw recruits, unused to the hardships of the camp, upon the first play of artillery from the castle, deserted in great numbers. He therefore, after a fortnight spent before the place, retired to a neighbouring village, till his troops, diminished now to 1400, could be reinforced. He was attacked in these quarters by the enemy on the 6th of September, and a smart action followed, in which the earl was victorious, and which he has described in a letter to some peer in town. When read in parliament, it was welcomed with great joy, and immediately ordered to be printed.*

The Marquess of Hertford was therefore compelled to withdraw his shattered party from the castle, and retired into Wales. At the siege of Gloucester, the Earl of Bedford offered his services in the war, "which were accepted; and at the battle of Newbury" "charged with bravery in the king's own regiment of horse, and well behaved himself throughout." He returned to Oxford with Charles I., who nominated him in June one of the commissioners to settle the government and liturgy, and from whom he continued to receive occasionally similar tokens of civility, but great disdain and disrespect from the courtiers who prided themselves on a monopoly of loyalty. It was not in the nature of Lord Bedford long to brook such conduct. He saw that the queen and her faction were determined to take revenge on all who had opposed them; and considering that his dignity and safety would be best consulted by retiring from a court which seemed incapable of discriminating between the real friends and enemies of the constitution, he rejoined, on Christmas-day, the Earl of Essex at St. Albans, leaving the very apologists of the monarch to lament an error which caused him to be henceforth regarded as implacable, and which led others who abhorred the violence of parliament rather to yield allegiance to it than expose themselves to the annoyance of a similar rebuff. Of this number was the earl's son-in-law, Lord Hay,† now by the death of his father in 1636,‡ Earl of Carlisle, who had hitherto taken a cordial part in the king's proceedings, and had sat in the parliament of Oxford, where, with his brothers-in-law, Francis Newport, Esq., and Colonel Russell, he had subscribed, on the 27th of January in this year, the well-known letter to the Earl of Essex.§

The parliament had visited the defection of the Earl of Bedford by a sequestration of his estate, which continued till the fight of Marston Moor, in 1644; when, being inspired by success with a more genial humour, the sequestration was ordered to be taken off. On the 17th of April, 1645, the

* "Exceeding joyful news from the Earl of Bedford's army," 4to. London, 1642. It has been reprinted by the Duke of Bedford, in his "Catalogue of Enamels at Woburn Abbey."

† Whitelock, p. 83.

‡ Sidney papers, vol. ii. p. 453.

§ Rushworth, vol. ii. Part III. pp. 566, 575.

Earl of Bedford, with the Earl of Carlisle * and four other peers, who had come in from the king's quarters, appeared once more in parliament, and took the covenant before the commissioners of the great seal—the only compliance which Lord Bedford made with the faction he had abandoned. He sat no more in the House of Peers after this, nor took much farther part in public affairs until the Restoration; but retired into private life, consoled by the reflection that he had endeavoured, under every change, to do his duty to his country. His example was imitated by many of the wisest and best subjects in the kingdom. Charles lived to be sensible of the injustice of his former demeanour to the earl, and more than once visited him in his retirement. In 1644 he passed a night with him at Woburn Abbey, in his route from Aylesbury, intending to proceed to Bedford; but this course not seeming prudent in the morning, he removed to Leighton Buzzard. In August, 1645, the king again became his guest, when on his way from Wales to Oxford; and a third time on the 24th of July, 1647.

A darker change had now passed over the fortunes of the monarch. He had been delivered by the Scots to the parliamentary army, whose quarters at this moment were at Bedford. But the jealousies between the army-officers and parliament were the means of his being treated at this time with great consideration. The external observances of royalty were everywhere paid him: his friends had still access to his presence; his correspondence with the queen was not yet interrupted; and his chaplains were restored to him. Dr. Hammond, one of them, came forward now to Woburn Abbey, with the Earl of Cleveland and several other noblemen, in order to receive him with befitting honour. He appears to have remained nine days at Woburn; it was an interesting crisis of his fate; for the proposals of the army were here submitted to him, previously to their being offered to him in public. They were much less rigorous than the conditions of the parliament. The council of officers insisted neither on the abolition of episcopacy, nor the punishment of his faithful partisans, the two points to which he had ever objected the most strongly. The earnest efforts of the Earl of Bedford were not wanting, at this juncture, to close by accommodation the gap of civil discord; they were, however, ineffectual. In his confidence that all parties would at length be obliged to have recourse to him, as the only remedy for the public disorders, Charles overlooked the possibility of a more violent solution of the problem. On the 2nd of August he rejected the proposals, and removed to Latimers, near Chenies. In the few years of severe adversity that intervened between his departure from Woburn Abbey and his execution, all the brighter and better features of his character come out, to relieve the shades by which his prosperity had been obscured: and admiration and pity cannot but attend his memory, during this, the sunset of his moral story. It was on the 30th of January, 1632, that the national annals were stained with his judicial murder.

* Whitelock, p. 145.

The Earl is stated to have liberally, though secretly, supplied Charles the Second with pecuniary aid during his exile; and he now heartily concurred in every prudent measure to forward his recall.* Hence in resuming his place amongst the peers, upon an invitation from the house through the Earl of Manchester, its speaker, he took an active share in those conferences for the settlement of the kingdom which preceded that event. At the solemnity of the coronation of Charles II. in 1661, he carried St. Edward's sceptre; and a few years after, namely, on the 29th of May 1672, was elected a knight of the Order of the Garter.

At about the end of May, 1669, the Earl of Bedford married Rachel, the youthful widow of Francis, Lord Vaughan, eldest son of Richard, second Lord Carberry, and second daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Wriothealey, the virtuous Earl of Southampton.

The Countess of Bedford died May 10th, 1684.

In February, 1687, M. Dyckvelt was sent by the Dutch court on a special embassy to England, with secret instructions to unite the heads of parties there, and otherwise to prepare the way for the regeneration of the national interests. "On the 24th of March, he honoured the Earl of Bedford and Lady Russell with a visit, being charged by the Prince and Princess of Orange to express the feeling sense which they had ever entertained of their terrible misfortunes, and the reverence which they bore to the memory of Lord Russell; and to assure them, that, if they should ever have the power, there was nothing they could ask which the prince and princess would not find content in granting.

King William, on mounting the throne to which he was invited, amply redeemed the promises which he had made to the Russell family when Prince of Orange. One of the first acts of his government was to reverse the

* The following letter to the Earl, from Dr. Hammond, written on the 27th of March 1660, soon after General Monk's dissolution of the Long Parliament, congratulates him on his release—from the recognizances, perhaps, into which he had been compelled to enter when his estates were restored to him :—

"My Lord,—It was a most happy and welcome allay to all the ugly votes that came out, in such haste, before the dissolution, that your lordship's liberty was one; and indeed one that nearly relates to me; being (that) a member of that assembly and the council of state, having, in all the many years that he was thus dignified, never had any one act that he could mention to me, as soon as this was passed, wrote very obligingly to me to signify it, and to ask whether I would not now have a good opinion of them. My Lord, though many things look inauspiciously enough, yet I am very willing to interpret this as a good omen, that your lordship's release, sent you from Heaven, may be a forerunner of halcyon days again to this poor church. I have now one request to your lordship, which my letters never presumed before to tender, that you will bestow your fatherly benediction upon those that desire it here, particularly on your most obedient and humble servant,

"H. HAMMOND."

attainder of Lord Russell. A vote of the House of Commons stigmatised his execution as a murder; and a formal examination, to detect the advisers and promoters of it, as well as that of all the others who had suffered from the Rye-house Plot, was, with much minuteness, entered into. It was in the course of this inquiry, that Lord Hampden stated to the House of Lords, that the association which introduced the Prince of Orange into England, was nothing else, in his regard, but a CONTINUATION OF THE COUNCIL OF SIX.* The greatest possible favour was at the same time shewn by the queen to Lady Russell; and every request which she chose to prefer for the credit or advantage of her friends, which, however, bore proportion rather to her modesty than merit, was honoured with a prompt compliance. And upon the venerable Earl of Bedford, in the April of 1694, the highest title which the king could confer upon a subject was bestowed, with accompaniments of delicate and graceful compliment that infinitely enhanced the value of the gift.†

William Russell, fifth Earl; and first Duke of Bedford, died on the 7th of September, 1700, aged 86 years, and was interred at Chenies. He had made it a matter of earnest and almost daily petition that, next to the pardon of his transgressions, the God in whom he had so faithfully trusted would grant him an easy passage to the tomb. And his prayer was heard and answered; for Dr. Freeman, one of William III's own chaplains, who had been directed by the king to preach his funeral sermon, stated that "Never did any person leave the world with greater inward peace, or a more resigned mind, with less struggle and discomposure, or with more assured hopes of a joyful resurrection. His lamp was not blown out; the oil wasted by degrees, until the flame decayed." He has

"sunk to rest,
By all his country's wishes blest!
There Honour comes, a pilgrim gray,
To bless the turf that wraps his clay;
And Freedom shall awhile repair,
To dwell, a weeping hermit, there!"

Wriothesley Russell, second Duke of Bedford, who was born November 1, 1680, and had lost his father (the excellent Lord Russell) at a very early age, now succeeded his grandfather. He was married by Bishop Burnet, his former tutor, on the 23rd of May, 1695, to Miss Elizabeth Howland. King William III. in compliment to the large succession to which Miss Howland was entitled, created Lord Russell Baron Howland, of Streatham, immediately after the marriage. He died of the small-pox on the 11th of January, 1711, and was succeeded by his son and namesake.

Wriothesley Russell, third Duke of Bedford, who at the age of seventeen, April 22nd, 1725, married Lady Anne Egerton, only daughter of Scroop,

* Lords' Journals, Dec. 20, 1689.

† Preamble to his Patent of Creation.

Duke of Bridgewater. In September 1732, he sailed for Portugal; but did not live to reach Lisbon. Serious symptoms of decline had appeared during the summer of that year, and he had been urgently advised by his physicians to try the milder air of Lisbon; but becoming worse upon his passage, he was compelled to land at Corunna, where he expired on the 23rd of October. His remains were brought to England, and deposited with those of his ancestors at Chenies. He was more fond of the turf and the billiard table than of study or self improvement, and was a prodigal of both health and wealth.

John Russell, fourth Duke of Bedford, now succeeded his brother Wriothesley, at the age of twenty-two years. In October, 1731, he had married Lady Diana Spencer, daughter of Charles, Earl of Sunderland, but she died Sept. 27th, 1735. In April 1737, he married Gertrude, eldest daughter of John, first Earl Gower. On November 27th 1744, he was constituted First Lord of the Admiralty, and sworn of the Privy Council. On February 12th, 1745, he was made Warden of the New Forest. When King George II. went to Hanover in April, 1750, he was appointed one of the lords justices during the king's absence. In April 1751, he became lord lieutenant of Devonshire; and on December 15th, 1756, he accepted the lieutenancy of Ireland. On October 11th, 1757, he opened the Irish parliament. On November 25th, 1761, he was made Privy Seal. In November 1765, he was elected chancellor of the University of Dublin. "The frank, the generous, the impetuous, the long powerful, the much calumniated John, Duke of Bedford," died January 15, 1771—"leaving the memory of his services and virtues for his posterity to cherish; and the vestiges of his errors, if other than involuntary errors, in his honesty of purpose, he can be found to have committed, for his opponents and his country to forgive."* His relict died July 1, 1794, aged 79 years.

Francis Russell, fifth Duke, succeeded his grandfather at the age of six years. He was born July 23, 1765. On attaining his majority in 1786, he took his seat in parliament as a peer of the realm. He however died rather suddenly of an illness occasioned by a rupture on March 2, 1802; at the age of thirty-six years. He was never married.

John Russell, sixth Duke, succeeded his brother in his title and estates. This nobleman, so suddenly and unexpectedly raised to ducal honours, was born on the 6th of July, 1766, and on the 21st of March, 1786, before he had completed his twentieth year, he married at Brussels, Georgiana Elizabeth Byng, the second daughter of George, fourth Viscount Torrington, minister plenipotentiary to the court of Brussels. This lady died on the 11th of October, 1801, leaving issue, Francis, born May 13, 1788; George William, born May 8, 1790; and John, born August 19, 1792. Shortly after his accession to the title, his grace married a second time Georgiana, the

* J. H. Wiffen, Esq., M.R.S.L.

fifth daughter of the Duke of Gordon, by whom he had several children. On the death of Mr. Rigby, in 1788, he was elected M.P. for the borough of Tavistock. In 1790 he was again returned for the same borough; and at the dissolution in 1796, he was re-elected, and continued to sit for Tavistock till the decease of his brother Francis. In 1802 he took his seat in the House of Lords. After the death of Mr. Pitt, when Fox and his party succeeded to power, his grace was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a post which, without distinguishing himself as a party man, he filled to the entire and general satisfaction of the public. He died in October 1839, and was succeeded by his son.

Francis Russell, seventh Duke of Bedford, was born May 13, 1788. His mother was Georgiana Elizabeth Byng, second daughter of George, fourth Viscount Torrington. He was educated at Westminster School, and Trinity College, Cambridge; and, after having made the customary tour of Europe, he graduated M.A. at his College. In 1808 he married* Lady Anna Maria Stanhope, eldest daughter of Charles, third Earl of Harrington, with whom he lived most happily until death parted them on the 3rd of July, 1857. In 1810, when he was Marquis of Tavistock, he entered Parliament as Member for Peterborough, and sat for that city until 1812, when he was elected for Bedfordshire at the General Election in that year—which county he continued to represent in seven successive Parliaments until he was called to the House of Peers (his father being still alive) as Baron Howland of Streatham, in 1832.

The Marquis of Tavistock, entered the House of Commons at the age of 22. The country at that time was in the hands of the Percival Government, which was supported by a compact and numerous majority: whilst the Opposition was few in numbers, and in truth not very united. There was, however, a select band of Patriots, to wit,—Althorp, Lambton, Whitbread, Brougham, Tierney, and others, who boldly stood by the cause of Reform—and to these the youthful Marquis promptly joined himself. It has been stated that Lord Tavistock was a silent member, and we have even heard it whispered that he never could make a speech. This is, however, entirely a mistake. To the eloquence of Whitbread and Brougham the noble Marquis made no pretensions; but, though he cannot be said to be a frequent speaker, he did occasionally speak—some twice or thrice perhaps in a Session: and he always spoke earnestly, eloquently, and well. These speeches, so far as we have examined them, were most of them on Parliamentary Reform, and show that the noble Lord was from the first an ardent Reformer. His style was remarkable for its clearness, simplicity, terseness, and force,—and his manner was singularly simple, graceful, and impressive. We never had the pleasure

* The late Duke had but one son, the Marquis of Tavistock (Lord William, born June 30th, 1809,) who now holds the Dukedom. His lordship is unmarried. The Heir presumptive is Mr. Hastings Russell, our esteemed member.

of hearing the noble Marquis speak in Parliament, but we have a lively recollection of his speeches on the Hustings, at political dinners, and public meetings; and our strong impression is that there are very few men in the House at this time who are such impressive speakers as the Marquis of Tavistock was 45 years ago. We remember once hearing him speak at a County Meeting held in the Shire Hall, and we thought at the time, and we still think, that the speech which he delivered was a very remarkable one. Indeed, one sentence of that speech still haunts our memory, and, as it is a specimen of the terse sententious style of the noble Marquis, we will venture to give it here. What the special occasion of the gathering was we do not remember,—but we recollect that some local orator had been severely criticising his Lordship's political conduct, and that in reply the noble Marquis of Tavistock uttered these remarkable words: "My political conduct has been criticised and condemned. Well, all I will condescend to say in reply is—I have been in Parliament many years, but during all that time I have never voted for the unnecessary expenditure of a penny of my countrymen's money, nor for the shedding unnecessarily a drop of my countrymen's blood. Can my opponent say the same?"

We have hunted over *Hansard*, and have read most of Lord Tavistock's parliamentary speeches, and we had some notion of largely extracting from them: but, on second thoughts, we prefer giving one of them entire, and then leaving the subject. It is the speech which the noble Marquis made when he moved for a new writ for Bedford, on the lamented death of his friend and compatriot Mr. Whitbread, in 1815. We extract it as it stands in *Hansard*:—

"SIR,—I am persuaded that it must be quite unnecessary for me to say that I am at this moment labouring under feelings of the most painful and afflicting nature. I wish however, shortly to state to the House the reasons which induce me to depart from the usual practice in moving for a new writ, in order that I may pay a humble but sincere tribute of affection to the memory of my departed friend. Sir, it is not on any consideration of private friendship—it is not on any contemplation of his many virtues as a private individual,—it is on the reflection of the great space which he occupied in this House—it is on the recollection of his splendid abilities—it is on the conviction which we, who thought with him on political subjects, entertain of the advantages which the country derived from his exertions, that I found my excuse for this address—and that I claim even the concurrence of all those who hear me in the feelings which agitate me at the present moment. I am well aware, Sir, that a majority of this House thought his opinions erroneous, but I speak it with confidence, I am sure that there is not one of his political opponents who will not say that he always found in him a manly antagonist. The House of Commons will, I am persuaded ever do justice to the good intentions of those who honestly dissent from the sentiments of the majority. Accustomed to defend his opinions with earnestness and warmth, the energy of his admirable and comprehensive mind would never permit the least

approach to tameness or indifference. But no particle of animosity ever found a place in his breast, and to use his own words on another melancholy occasion 'He never carried his political enmity beyond the threshold of this House.' It was his uniform practice to do justice to the motives of his political opponents; and I am happy to feel the same justice is done to his motives by them. To those, Sir, who were immediately acquainted with his exalted character—who knew the directness of his mind, his zeal for truth, his unshaken love of his country, the ardour and boldness of his disposition incapable of dismay, his unaffected humanity, and his other various and excellent qualities, his loss is irreparable. But most of all will it be felt by the poor in his neighbourhood. Truly might he be called 'The poor man's Friend.' Only those, who like myself, have had the opportunity of observing his conduct nearly, can be aware of his untiring zeal in promoting the happiness of all around him. Thousands of individuals have benefited by the generosity of his heart; and the county, the principal town of which he represented, contains imperishable monuments of his active philanthropy, as well as those of the good man who went before him. His eloquent appeals in this House in favour of the unfortunate—appeals exhibiting the frankness and honesty of the true English character—will adorn the pages of the historian; although at the present moment they afford a subject for melancholy retrospect to those who have formerly dwelt with delight on the benevolence of a heart which always beat, and on the vigour of an intellect which was always employed, for the benefit of his fellow-creatures. Sir, I am conscious that I need not entreat pardon of the House at large for thus indulging in the praise of my lamented friend; but I owe an apology to those who loved him, for the feebleness with which it has been bestowed. I move Sir 'That the Speaker do issue his warrant to the clerk of the crown, to make out a new writ for the electing of a burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Bedford in the room of Samuel Whitbread deceased.'"

Having said as much upon the Marquis of Tavistock's parliamentary career as we have space to say, we come now to a remarkable transaction, one which we venture to think, more than anything that he ever did or said, shows his zeal for Reform, his unflinching moral courage, and his severe integrity of purpose. Having for fifteen years pleaded in Parliament the cause of Parliamentary Reform—in vain as he then thought—though not in vain for the seed which he and his noble band of allies had sown, and which appeared to be lost, was even then fructifying and was about very soon to spring up and bring forth a larger measure of Reform than he in his early days ever hoped to see—he determined, if he could do no more, to reform the method of carrying on elections in his own county. Down to the year 1826, County Elections had been conducted in Bedfordshire much as they were everywhere else. Agents were permanently retained. Every town had an agent. His duty was to keep a register of every freehold in his district; to note down every change in property; to ascertain whose property was mortgaged; to what amount it was encumbered, and who was the mortgagee; and further

who had or was likely to have influence over the votes. At set times returns were made to head quarters at Bedford, and there all these returns were regularly posted into a huge ledger. The object of this system of espionage was to ascertain who were Freeholders; who had a clear 40s. a year from his property, and who had not; and what influence could be brought to bear upon the poorer voters: so that when an election approached everything might be ready for the fight. When the struggle came on, the agent was expected—each in his own district—to organize a canvass; to open public-houses; to bring up his Voters to the poll; and to do everything else that his sagacity could devise to secure the victory. Most of these agents were lawyers, for the obvious reason that they would be most likely to know what changes took place, what mortgages were effected, and generally the best mode of influencing the voters. On the day of nominations, processions in each district were organized, and each procession headed by its own band and banners used to march off to a place of rendezvous, and there all being formed in one huge procession, the whole train would accompany the candidate to the hustings. We have seen a candidate enter Bedford with a train of motley conveyances more than a mile long. What took place during the days of polling, it is impossible to describe minutely;—but when we say that almost every public-house in the town was open to all comers, that bands and flags paraded the streets from morning to night, our readers may be able to imagine the scenes which ensued. For seven, eight, and in one case on record fifteen days, the town was a scene of riot, drunkenness, and debauchery, that would make us stand aghast if we could see it now. Well, this was the system which was generally adopted till the General Election of 1826; and this was the system which the Marquis of Tavistock determined in his own county to put an end to at one blow. He had vainly tried to persuade Parliament to repress it. As early as 1812 he brought in a bill for reforming these evils. He then proposed that the votes should be taken not all at the county towns, but in the different hundreds in which the voters resided, and in one day; thus anticipating two of the most important provisions of the Reform Bills of 1832, &c. He failed however in this, as he did in subsequent attempts in the same direction. But in 1821 he gave a hint that whatever others might do he could not again consent to sanction the disgusting scenes which had passed before him in the preceding year; and in 1825, he issued an address announcing his purpose, when the next election should take place, to break up the whole system. This address is so long, but it is so valuable, and illustrates so admirably the conduct and character of the noble Marquis, that we have thought fit to transfer it in full.

To the Gentry, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Bedford.

GENTLEMEN,—The rumour of another contest for the representation of the County of Bedford, whenever a dissolution of Parliament shall take place, calls upon me for an explicit avowal of my intentions towards you.

Having some time ago publicly declared my sentiments on the disgraceful and disgusting scenes which arose out of the expenditure, of money for carrying on the last election for this county, I, at the same time, expressed my determination of never again offering myself as a candidate for any seat in the House of Commons, except on the condition of an entire cessation of all such practices. I shall adhere both to the letter and spirit of that declaration; and it will be for the *Freeholders of Bedfordshire* to decide whether it is a principle on which they are willing to support me.

As far as it regards myself I am resolved it shall not again be laid to my charge that I have given encouragement to drunkenness and immorality to secure my election to Parliament.

Whatever be the event of acting up to this resolution, I shall never regret having made the attempt to bring about an important reform in the mode of electing your representatives; and I look not only with confidence, but with pleasure to the day of honourable contest which is to bring this principle into action, and put it fairly to the test.

When I am appealing to the enlightened and independent Freeholders of a county in which I have now so long resided, I will not anticipate the possibility of losing their support by having made this declaration. I cannot bring myself to believe that they will reject the services of one who has represented them honestly, and is not conscious of having forfeited their confidence, merely because he will not act in contradiction, both to the law of the land and the spirit of the Constitutional.

But if, contrary to my expectations, defeat should be the consequence, I shall console myself by reflecting that it is far better to fail by doing right than to succeed by doing wrong; and I shall then retire into private life with the heart-felt satisfaction of having attempted to put a check to one of the most shameful abuses of our representative system. On the other hand, if success should crown my hopes, you will have the credit of setting a noble example to the other counties of England; and you will thus establish amongst yourselves, by your own exertions, and to your own immortal honour, the foundation stone of that reform which the legislature has hitherto shown so little disposition to adopt.

When first I offered myself to your notice, I professed myself a friend to Civil and Religious liberty. Whether I have truly supported that character in the opinion of my constituents will be for you to determine, whenever a dissolution shall happen.

Any professions from me, now, after having represented you in the last three Parliaments, would be idle words; I must refer you to my public conduct during that eventful period.

It is not my intention, on this occasion to canvass the county.

To those who have watched the course of my political life, and approve of the principles upon which I act, such a ceremony will be needless. If, however, you are resolved manfully and independently to exercise your rights, you will not only require no solicitation from me to come cheerfully to the poll, but you will afford every facility (without infringing the principles I here lay down) to those poorer Freeholders in your immediate neighbourhood who may wish to avail themselves of the constitutional privilege of electing their representatives.

By so doing you will act in a manner worthy English Freeholders in former times, while you will transmit to your children this important lesson: that the simple duty of an elector, in the discharge of his sacred trust is to come to an election with a clear head and honest heart, and to give his vote in favour of those candidates to whom he is most willing to confide the protection of his property, his religious liberties, and civil rights.

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your faithful friend and servant,

TAVISTOCK.

Oakley, October 17, 1825.

And here it occurs to us to remark, that perhaps to the younger portion of our readers it may appear that after all there did not require much moral courage to adopt such a course,—for they cannot, by the utmost force of imagination, place themselves in the circumstances of those times. But those, who remember them all vividly, well know that the step which the noble lord took was one which no man who was not endowed with great courage, inflexible will, and a grand sense that right ought to be done regardless of all consequences, could have taken such a step. Nor can any of our younger readers conceive of the effect which this blow at the hydra-headed monster of corruption produced at the time. It is well remembered. It came like a blast from the trump of doom to all the foul parasites who had fattened upon the system of corruption, and loud were the execrations which were uttered by those whose occupations were thus suddenly destroyed, and melancholy were the predictions which everywhere were muttered even by those who had not profited by the system. But on this subject we can say no more. The blow was struck. In 1826 the County Election was, as far as the Whigs were concerned, carried on for the first time for ages, on strictly pure principles. There were no flags, bands, colours, processions, conveyances for voters, nor open houses, but every Whig voter went to the poll of his own accord,—as an English voter ought to do. The candidates were the Marquis of Tavistock, Mr. Francis Pym, sen., and Colonel Macqueen. The Tories went upon the old system—on that occasion, as they did for some years afterwards—

but gradually they followed the example of the Whigs and adopted purer principles also. And now one word on the fate of the gallant colonel,—for it is very instructive. He won the election, but it cost him so much to win it that a few years afterwards he was obliged to sell his paternal estates, and exile himself from his country; thus adding one more to the long list of families which have been ruined by election contests. We now subjoin the address, prefaced by two letters addressed to Dr. Thackeray, on which we need not say a word further, as they tell their own tale:—

“Woburn Abbey, October 22, 1825.

“My dear Sir,—In consequence of a public declaration which I made in the spring of 1821 I have felt it to be my duty, on the rumour of another contest for the representation of this county to issue an address to the freeholders of which I enclose a copy.

“You will perceive that I have therein declared my intention of not again offering myself as a candidate, except on condition of an entire exemption from participating in such disgraceful and disgusting scenes as arose out of the expenditure of money for carrying on the last election. Whether the principle on which I am about to act will be successful or not, must be decided hereafter by the freeholders of the county; but in either case it will enable me to save a certain sum of money which would have been otherwise spent as heretofore both immorally and illegally. That sum (whatever be the result of the contest) I intend to place at the disposal of the governors of the infirmary for the building and support of the proposed addition to that establishment; and I trust every rational man in the county (whatever may be his political sentiments) will agree in opinion with me that it will be far better to apply it to the formation of a permanent and useful institution for the benefit of the poor, than promoting, in contradiction to the law of the land, practices of drunkenness, and profligacy. I wish this letter not to be communicated to anyone till after the county election is decided, because I am anxious that the principle on which I have offered myself should be tried fairly and exclusively on its own merits, and I should be sorry by an act of this nature to do what might have the appearance of ostentation, or of a wish to influence thus indirectly the public feeling in my favour in the election which must soon take place.

“I am, dear Sir, your faithful servant,

“TAVISTOCK.”

“Dr. Thackeray.”

“London, April 25th, 1826.

“Dear Sir,—The prospect of an early dissolution of Parliament renders it necessary for me to trouble you again on the subject of my letter to you in October last. At that time I wrote in confident expectation of a contested election for the county, but it appears probable that that expectation may not

now be realized.* I cannot however feel satisfied that the Infirmary should lose by this change of circumstances the benefit we had anticipated. I therefore propose to give towards the new building (whether there be a contest or not) the sum of £2000, (the estimate being £4000,) and I trust there will be no difficulty in raising the remainder by general subscriptions in the county. As I may not be able to attend when the annual meeting of governors takes place in August, I hereby authorize you to put down my name at that time as a subscriber to the amount of £2000.†

“I am, dear Sir, your faithful servant,
“TAVISTOCK.”

Dr. Thackeray.”

In 1832 the Marquis of Tavistock was called to the house of Peers as Baron Howland of Streatham, and in 1839 he succeeded his father as Duke of Bedford. On his accession to the House of Lords, His Grace gradually retired from the political arena. We distinctly remember one remarkable speech of his in the Upper House; but we have not now leisure to refer to it.‡ For a time he was a pretty constant attendant, and of course a steady supporter of Liberal Principles; but as the great work, which he had undertaken to do, and which we shall have shortly to notice, opened before him, his attendance slackened. It has, however, been said that though he was not openly seen upon the political stage, he was still an active and successful intriguer in private; and that if he did not openly show in the performance he pulled the wires behind the scenes. This has been so often and so authoritatively asserted, that most people have come to believe it. And a morning paper asserted without qualification, that the famous Coalition Cabinet of 1852 was concocted at Woburn,—and that it was through the Duke's influence that Lord John Russell found the Earl of Aberdeen. But in all this there is, we have good authority to say, not a word of truth. The late Duke was not an intriguer—he did not “pull the wires”—he did not make and unmake Cabinets—he had nothing whatever to do with the concoction of the Coalition of 1852. The simple fact appears to be this: in

* There was a contest as we have seen.

† The Bedford General Infirmary was founded by the Whitbread family. Samuel Whitbread, Esq., the father of the statesman, left £10,000 for its erection. The time however, within which it was stipulated that the building should be erected, passed away, and the legacy lapsed. But when the project was revived, the son gave the money. Exclusive of this gift, the Whitbreads and the Russell's have been the largest contributors to the institution. The late Duke, as we see, gave £2000 on this occasion: but in addition to this he gave other donations. In 1861 we find they had amounted to £2485. His Grace's annual subscription during the Duchess was £50, and that of her Grace was £10. On the death of the Duchess the Duke increased his subscription to £60.

‡ On Spiritual Destitution in the Metropolis and Church Abuses.

the first place His Grace was a Privy Councillor, and it is not impossible, indeed it is highly probable "and something more," that he was sent for in times of difficulty by the Sovereign to give her the aid of his rare wisdom and experience. Her Majesty when political crisis arose, would naturally wish to consult some one of her Privy Councillors noted for wisdom, experience, high-toned honour, and of moderate political opinions. And what so probable as that she should send for the Duke of Bedford? Had he not all the qualifications of a Councillor in cases of difficulty? His wisdom was proverbial—his experience was great—his honour unimpeachable—his moderation well known—his patriotism undoubted—and it is a matter of notoriety that he wanted no office for himself. And then again, it is more than probable that he would be often consulted by his political friends. And perhaps when discussion and difficulties arose, he would be called upon to act as a referee and pacificator. "The very head and front of his offending had this—no more." He was never an intriguer,—and they who could imagine that he ever was, did not know the man.

It is well known that very early His Grace was a corn-law repealer. In 1827, we find from a speech which he delivered at the County Hall, that though he was not then prepared for total and immediate abolition, he was far a-head of the landed proprietors and farmers of that day; and in 1846,—and indeed some time before,—he had utterly given up protection. But though His Grace was a Free-Trader, his tenants, as a body, were not. On the contrary they saw in Free-Trade nothing but ruin; and dismal were their forebodings, and sad were their countenances, when Peel's memorable Bill became Law. Well, to allay these anxieties which bore so heavily upon them, His Grace gave them the option of paying fixed, or Corn Rents to be calculated upon an average of the price of corn, to be taken every seven years; and many of them embraced the latter plan eagerly. One fine morning every tenant received a circular to this effect: that His Grace had come to the conclusion that seven years was too long a term, and that it ought to be shortened; and that, inasmuch as corn had risen in one year since the passing of the act (we forget the year and the price) to a very high price, His Grace would consider that year as exceptional, and in calculating the rent, would leave it out altogether. After this we need say nothing of the Duke's character as a landlord.

And now we come to the last, and as we certainly think, the most important phase of His Grace's life and character. Other men have been good and able politicians, but is there a man living, or does history present one amongst the illustrious dead, who on the whole has done so much to promote the social improvement and welfare of the people? We venture to think not. Other men have had the will; and, to the extent of their power, a host of eminent philanthropists have laboured to promote the instruction and physical comfort of their fellow-men; but the Duke had the will, the means, the untiring energy, and the capacity of mind combined to an extent to which they have rarely, if ever, been seen in any other man. When the Duke came to his estate in

1839, several notable facts presented themselves to his view. His property was heavily charged. The estate was on the whole not tilled up to the standard of the Duke's agricultural knowledge. It needed more draining and many other improvements. The buildings were sadly out of repair. The cottages of the labourers were not sufficient in number, were in a bad condition, and, moreover, were small, incommodious, and uncomfortable; and there were few, if any, schools upon the estate. This then, was the scene which met His Grace's view, and these were the evils, which after long and anxious reflection, he determined to remedy. And here we might go into a long detail of the means by which he accomplished this great work, but we must forbear: for we should require a volume, whereas we have only a few columns of space at our command. It must suffice for us to notice the results. To some one better acquainted with the facts, and with more time and space at command, we will leave the task of writing a history of the means by which the results were achieved. The results, then, are these: The property has not only been cleared of encumbrance, but vastly enlarged. The estate is now probably the best farmed estate on the whole in the kingdom. Every acre has been drained; useless woods and straggling hedgerows have been rooted up; waste land has been brought into cultivation; and the whole property, compared with what it was, is like a garden. There is not we venture to say a house, building, gate, or fence out of repair. There is now good cottage accommodation for the labourers; and a school in every parish for the education of their children. These last two results are perhaps the grandest of all. At all events they are those which the public will contemplate with the greatest pleasant.

The following is a copy of an address presented by a deputation of the occupiers of the cottages erected by His Grace at Tavistock, in 1850:—

COTTAGERS' ADDRESS.

“Tavistock, July 10.

“May it please your Grace—We, the undersigned, beg leave to offer to you our earnest and humble thanks for the invaluable boon conferred upon us; we refer to the West-bridge Cottages just erected on your Grace's property in which we now reside.

“Your Grace's visits to our town would be a reproach to us if we did not gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity now afforded of acknowledging the deep and lasting obligation conferred upon us in having such homes provided for us at a rent like that we are to pay.

“We are, your Grace, fathers of families, and up to this time have had to live, many of us in single rooms, with few comforts,—nay, few of the decencies of life; but your Grace, feeling with us, more than merely for us, has now provided houses in which we find all that we could desire in every way put

within the reach of our small earning, and we cannot let you now depart without offering, from the bottom of our hearts, our thanks for sympathy like this.

“We believe that your Grace’s Tavistock property does not stand alone in its labouring men thus feeling your Christian liberality and care. We hear that in other parts of England you have been first and foremost in thus building up comfort for the poor man’s home. If so, we only trust the more that your Grace will be richly rewarded for works like these—rewarded in this world by the cordial affection and unfeigned respect of all connected with you, and in the world to come by the blessings promised by God to those who never forget the poor.

“We have the honour to remain, with humble and earnest thanks, your Grace’s obedient and dutiful servants.”

(Signed by the 64 tenants.)

His Grace spoke to the following effect, which, at the request of the deputation, he afterwards reduced to writing, in order that they might shew it to their fellow tenants:—

THE DUKE’S REPLY.

“It has been well and truly said that ‘property has its duties as well as its rights.’

“In recognising that principle to its fullest extent I consider the well-being, the moral and social improvement of those who live and work upon our estates as among the foremost. But if property has its rights and its duties it has also its pleasures as well as its cares, and amongst the highest of those pleasures I must ever rank the means a landlord possesses of improving the habitations, and thereby bettering the condition of his fellow creatures among the labouring class—the most gratifying reward he can receive is in such a testimony as that now presented to me. We have all our respected parts allotted to us in this world, and if I have endeavoured to fulfil mine by providing you with better cottages let it be yours to prove yourselves worthy of them by taking good care of them.

“That you value and appreciate them is a merit entirely your own. And now having made these remarks I have only to thank you for this address, and to offer you my best wishes, that your present contentment may be followed by a long occupation of happy and healthful homes, and by dependence, let me add, not on me, but on your own good conduct and honest industry, whether in your labour or in your dwellings.”

In order to show the great comforts which the occupiers of these 64 cottages

must enjoy in having five rooms, with a yard, garden, pigs'-house, and other conveniences adjoining, let our readers contrast them with their former habitations, as given in the tabular statement below, from which it appears that there were formerly 64 families, containing 381 persons, occupying about 106 rooms, or about $1\frac{1}{4}$ room to each family, and for which the average rent was about £3 17s. 6d. a year; whereas in the new cottages, which were all completed in seven months and are built in detached blocks, well supplied with water, and in an open situation, with abundance of ventilation and excellent drainage, these families have 320 rooms, or five rooms to each family, for which they pay £3 18s. a year, and they have gardens, yards, pigs'-houses, and other conveniences attached, which in their old habitations they were in most cases entirely without.

No.	Names of parties occupying the new cottages.	No. of members of each family.	No. of rooms occupied by each family before taking possession of their present residences.	Rent given for such Rooms.
FIRST BLOCK.				
1	Daniel Pennington	6	1	£ 3 18 0
2	Thomas Bennett	8	4	3 18 0
3	Cullon Williams, jun.	6	1	3 0 0
4	Samuel Drake	6	2	5 0 0
5	John Tucker.....	5	1	4 0 0
6	Patience Truscott	6	2	5 0 0
SECOND BLOCK.				
7	Benjamin Rodda	10	2	4 0 0
8	Philip Hancock	6	4	5 5 0
9	James Gale	4	1	4 4 0
10	John Alford	4	2	8 0 0
11	John Williams	4	1	4 6 8
12	Francis Hawke	8	2	4 10 0
THIRD BLOCK.				
13	John Doidge.....	8	1	3 18 0
14	Thomas Jago, jun.	4	1	3 18 0
15	Edwin Cuddaford	8	3	9 0 0
16	Richard Williams	5	1	3 10 0
17	James Arthurs.....	4	2	3 8 0
18	Richard Harvey	6	1	3 0 0
19	Cullon Williams, sen.....	5	2	4 4 0
20	William Rodda	4	2	5 10 0
FOURTH BLOCK.				
21	Benjamin Werring	4	1	3 0 8
22	Thomas Gregory	5	2	4 0 0
23	Edward Merrifield	4	2	3 18 0
24	John Welch	7	1	3 7 0
25	Edward Vigurs.....	4	2	3 18 0

26	Robert Waterfield	8	2	6 0 0
27	Philip Lampey	3	1	3 5 0
28	John Hockeridge	4	2	4 0 0
FIFTH BLOCK.				
29	William Alford	5	1	3 0 8
30	Francis Reece	3	1	3 0 0
31	John Torr	7	1	3 5 0
32	Abraham James	4	2	3 0 0
33	James Heard	9	2	3 5 0
34	William Martin	6	2	2 12 0
35	William Elliott	7	2	3 10 0
36	Benjamin Hodge	8	2	3 0 0
SIXTH BLOCK.				
37	John Mitchell	6	1	3 0 0
38	Richard George	7	2	2 12 0
39	Stephen Maynard	3	1	3 10 0
40	Samuel Miles	7	2	5 0 0
41	Honor Lemin	4	2	4 0 0
42	Francis Cock	4	1	3 5 0
43	Philip Broad	5	2	4 11 0
44	John Johns	8	3	4 0 0
SEVENTH BLOCK.				
45	Edward Strike	4	1	4 11 0
46	William Clements	7	1	2 16 4
47	Richard Bravin	6	1	3 0 0
48	Richard Cocks	6	1	3 15 0
49	James Tregasgis	5	1	3 10 0
50	James Friend	10	2	3 18 0
EIGHTH BLOCK.				
51	John James	7	2	3 10 0
52	William James	9	4	5 5 0
53	John Hawke	5	3	10 0 0
54	George Crocombe	8	1	3 0 8
55	Thomas Lemain	6	2	4 0 0
56	Thomas Torr	8	1	3 0 0
NINTH BLOCK.				
57	Richard Horrell	3		
58	James Miles	5	1	2 12 0
59	John Walters	4	2	5 0 0
60	Mary Facey	5	1	2 10 0
TENTH BLOCK.				
61	Henry Lavis	9	1	3 0 8
62	Sampford Sly	3		
63	William Miles	5	2	2 12 0
64	Rebecca Bone	7	3	4 10 0
		381	106	247 19 8

In some of the old residences, where the rent is very high, there were gardens attached, or else one of the rooms was a shop, which accounts for the great increase of rent in those cases.

The above table shows the miserable manner in which hundreds of families are living throughout the country. This statement was published in the

columns of the *Bedfordshire Mercury* in 1850, at the special request of His Grace, "in the hope that, by the publication of these facts to the world, it may be the means of drawing attention to the subject," and thus lead those who have it in their power to follow the brilliant example of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, to do what they can towards the "moral and social improvement of those who live and work on their estates."

No doubt Tavistock was not in a worse state than other places as far as regards habitations for the poor, and therefore it may fairly be presumed that the same state of things exists in many other places, and if so, it is a matter for lamentation to see out of 64 families 29 of those families having but a single room for every purpose—eating, drinking, sleeping, washing, &c., &c., in the same room, and, what is worse than all, in case of a birth or death in the family, there is no second room wherein to place the mother and the new-born infant, or the corpse of the departed one; and we would ask what can have a greater tendency to keep down the morals of the people than such things as these? We hope, however, a brighter day has dawned upon the world, and that this state of things will be "buried midst the wreck of things that were."

Letter "On Labourers' Cottages" from His Grace the Duke of Bedford, to the President of the Royal Agricultural Society. (Published in R. A. S. Journal, Vol. X, Pt. 1.)

My Dear Lord Chichester,—Observing in the last volume of the Royal Agricultural Society's Journal that the Council is directing its attention to that very important subject, the improvement of agricultural labourer's cottages, feeling (in common, I have no doubt, with many other proprietors of estates) greatly interested in it, and having bestowed upon it much and anxious consideration, I am desirous of giving to others the benefit of my inquiries and experience, to enable them to follow the system I am adopting, so far as they may think it expedient to do so; and I therefore beg leave to offer to the Society copies of the plans and drawings according to which I have lately erected some cottages, and intend to erect many more, on my Bedfordshire and Devonshire estates.

My enquiries into the condition of the cottages on those estates led me to the conclusion, first, that, notwithstanding a very considerable annual expenditure upon them, many of them were so deficient in requisite accommodation as to be inadequate to the removal of that acknowledged obstacle to the improvement of the morals and habits of agricultural labourers, which consists in the want of separate bed-rooms for grown-up boys and girls; and, secondly, that the practice of taking in lodgers had led to still further evils. The improved methods of cultivation, extensive draining, and general improvement in husbandry (requiring additional hands) that are going on, more or less, in all parts of the country, and the breaking-up of inferior grass lands, and

converting woodland into tillage (especially since the passing of the Tithe Commutation Act), by giving work to many more labourers than were formerly employed, have caused a proportionate augmentation of their number, and consequently an increased want of cottage accommodation. To meet this increased want, and at the same time to improve the habitations of the labourers, I determined to rebuild the worst of my cottages, and to add to their number in those parts of my estate in which it appeared necessary to do so. I therefore directed my surveyor to prepare a series of plans of cottages suitable for families of different sizes and descriptions, sufficient to satisfy the reasonable wants of the labourers and their families, and to be so constructed as that (avoiding all needless expense) the cottages should be substantial, and not subject to premature decay, or likely to require costly repair.

The experience obtained in erecting the new cottages already built on my estate has enabled my surveyor to ascertain the quantities of each kind of material required for the construction, separately, of the cottages shown in these plans; and in the hope that this information may be useful to others, I have directed those quantities to be put in detail upon the plans. I have deemed it best not to have the prices added, because prices vary in different localities, and therefore to furnish the prices of one locality would be useless, and might mislead. The quantities being given, it will be easy to add the prices they bear in other places in which the erection of cottages according to those plans may be desired.

As the cottages of many landed proprietors may be, and probably are, in a state similar to my own, it appears to me that the information, founded on actual experience, which I have obtained on the subject of cottage-building, and which is embodied in these plans, may be acceptable and generally useful.

Cottage building (except to a cottage speculator who exacts immoderate rents for scanty and defective habitations) is, we all know, a bad investment of money; but this is not the light in which such a subject should be viewed by landlords, from whom it is, surely, not too much to expect that, while they are building and improving farm-houses, homesteads, and cattle-sheds, they will, also, build and improve dwellings for their labourers in sufficient number to meet the improved and improving cultivation of the land.

But in adding to the number of cottages on our estates, there should, of course be a limit, or we fall into evils of another kind. That limit may easily be drawn, either by the proprietor himself, or by an intelligent steward, and made to agree with the reasonable wants of the districts or parishes in which his employer's estates are situated.

To improve the dwellings of the labouring class, and afford them the means of greater cleanliness, health, and comfort, in their own homes, to extend education, and thus raise the social and moral habits of those most valuable mem-

bers of the community, are amongst the first duties and ought to be amongst the truest pleasures of every landlord. While he thus cares for those whom Providence has committed to his charge, he will teach them that reliance on the exertion of the faculties with which they are endowed is the surest way to their own independence and the well-being of their families.

I shall not dwell, as I might, on the undeniable advantages of making the rural population contented with their condition, and of promoting that mutual good-will between the landed proprietor and the tenants and labourers on his estate, which sound policy and the higher motives of humanity alike recommend.

Having lately had the pleasure of visiting with you some of the cottages on your estate in Sussex, knowing the interest you take in the subject, and having witnessed your success in carrying into effect the views we alike entertain upon it, it is gratifying to me to be able to address this communication to you as President of the Royal Agricultural Society for the present year.

I remain, my dear Lord Chichester, with sincere regard and esteem, faithfully yours,

BEDFORD.

Woburn Abbey, March, 1849.

The eight pages in the Journal—giving plans, elevations, and quantities—will repay perusal.

The letter is worthy of perusal, as it shows what were His Grace's motives for undertaking the work, and his views upon the economic phase of the question of cottage building on landed estates. We have no reliable returns of the exact number of cottages and schools which have been erected; but it is sufficiently near the mark to say that over 400 old cottages have been pulled down, and more than 500 built. And with respect to schools, we may safely take the statement of the Rev. Emilius Bayley (formerly incumbent of Woburn), quoted in the *Daily Telegraph*, as true. "On the Duke's accession to the estate," Mr. Bayley says, and he adds that he received his information from the Duke, "there was but one school upon the property; but now in every parish there is a well-ordered school."* Even this does not, however, give an exhaustive view of all that His Grace did for the education of the people on his estates; for he was also very liberal in his contributions towards the repairs and rebuilding of churches. For example: in London, where a movement was set on foot to build more churches, His Grace put his name

* It has been said that the Duke in carrying out these vast works was fortunate in securing good agents. And that he had good agents—men of the rarest talents, we know. But we object to the word "fortunate"; for it was the Duke's own sagacity that secured these valuable assistants. It is one of the attributes of a great man to be able to know a man when he sees him.

down for £10,000; and we think we shall not be far wrong in saying that very few applications were made to him for subscriptions towards the repair or erection of churches without success. On the subject of the Duke's private charities we cannot do better than quote from a contemporary. "He was not an ostentatious patron of societies, but he gave largely, as we happen to know, to private claimants upon his benevolence, and by his discriminating and munificent charities he dried many an orphan's tear, and made many a widow's heart to leap for joy. Indeed, we do not believe that he ever refused help to the distressed, when his judgment decided that it was right to give it."

And now in conclusion. It has been said that a man's evil deeds live after him—but his good actions die with him. But this saying can only be true in the sense that men are very likely to remember evil and forget good deeds. For in truth, neither evil nor good actions ever perish. It is written that "God visits the sins of the fathers upon the children,"—and it is not less true that the good deeds of a man live long after his death. Indeed, by an inexorable law, all actions, whether good or bad are immortal—imperishable. And in the light of this great truth, what a benefactor to mankind has the late Duke of Bedford been to the world! If we reflect upon the material benefits which he has conferred upon the present occupants of those cottages of his, and the succeeding generations, we shall see that the good that he has done is by no means small. But what are the material benefits when compared with the moral? We are to apt to separate, by a sharp line, the material from the moral; but there are really no sharp lines—material runs into moral—and moral re-acts upon material. Place a labourer in a bad cottage which affords him no room for comfort, and in which he cannot maintain habits of cleanliness and decency; and you will see that bad morals will almost inevitably ensue. And then the immorality will re-act upon his physical condition, and make it worse than it was at first. But, on the other hand, build him a comfortable dwelling, roomy and convenient, one in which he can if he chooses, live a civilized and happy life, and you will straightway see these results: The material comforts will produce good habits, forethought, and general elevation of character, and these will tend still further to add to his material comfort: and where does all this end? Well, it never ends: but as the seed which is sown in the ground goes on producing other seed, one good deed like that of the noble Duke's becomes fruitful in ever-widening good to the end of Time,—good in the direct line of generations which spring from those who were the immediate objects of his benevolence—and untold and untraceable good radiating out in every direction. In short it is like the leaven which a woman took and hid in a measure of meal, which spread until the whole was leavened. And may we not adopt the words of Lord Charles Russell, when speaking of the Duke's cottages at the last Bedford Agricultural Meeting, and say and feel with him—that "while many memorials to the virtues of landlords, like London's tall monument, 'lift their heads and lie'—and while the inscriptions of others become utterly unintelligible long before they cease to be legible, the Duke of Bedford's will be renewed by successive generations of honest men and modest women, and that these will form inscriptions legible in the eye of "Heaven!"

The mortal remains of the late noble Duke were deposited in the mausoleum at Chenies, in the County of Buckingham, on Wednesday last. In the chapel adjoining the parish church the vault is situated, in which the ashes of the noble House of Russell, from the time of the first Duke of Bedford, who died in 1554.

The remains of the late Duke were removed from Woburn Abbey, about nine o'clock on Tuesday evening, and were conveyed the whole distance by road. The procession consisted only of the hearse, and one mourning coach (containing Lord Charles Russell, and Mr. Hastings Russell, M.P.,) and the private carriage of the Duke. As the melancholy *cortege* left the Abbey, many of the tenantry assembled to testify their respect for the deceased. The procession passed through Milton, Hockliffe, and Dunstable. It arrived in this latter town about eleven o'clock, and here a large concourse of the tenantry had assembled. The cavalcade then passed on to Great Berkhamstead, where there was a short halt, and the journey was resumed, and not broken until the village of Chenies was reached. The coffin was taken to the rectory, (arriving there about half-past four on Wednesday morning), at which the Rev. Lord Wriothesley Russell, half-brother of the late Duke, resides; and it was placed in the library.

From an early hour in the morning, the arrival of persons in the village was very considerable, and as each hour passed on the throng increased. By the up and down trains of the London and North Western Railway numerous gentlemen arrived, and as Watford was the nearest station to the place of interment, several omnibuses were engaged to convey them to Chenies. Vehicles of all kinds were ranged along the village, the passengers having gone out in search of some rural object of interest to engage their attention during the interval that would elapse before the ceremony.

Shortly after one o'clock—the hour appointed for the funeral—the mournful procession left the rectory, and being only a few yards from the church, no carriages of any kind were required. The *cortege* proceeded towards the church in the following order:—

Mutes; Clergymen holding Livings in the Gift of the Late Duke of Bedford. The Body, Borne on the shoulders of ten men. The Mourners:—the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M.P., Chief mourner, (the present Duke of Bedford being unable to attend,) and the Rev. Lord Wriothesley Russell; Lord Edward Russell and Lord Charles Russell; Lord Francis Russell and Lord Alexander Russell; Lord James Butler and the Marquis of Abercorn; Mr. Sandford and the Earl of Harrington; Francis Charles Hastings Russell M.P., and Mr. John Russell; Lord Foley and Mr. George Russell; Mr. William Russell and Hon. Edward Russell.

The Rev. S. F. Cumberlege, with other clergymen, received the body at

the entrance to the church, in the usual manner, and commenced reading the burial service. As the body was taken into the church, the congregation at once rose, and remained standing.

The workmanship of the coffin was most beautiful, the covering being of ruby silk velvet, with gold mountings, and the whole of the ornaments were of the most superb kind. On the breast-plate was the following inscription :—

F R A N C I S,
7TH DUKE OF BEDFORD,
BORN 18TH MAY, 1788,
DIED 14TH MAY, 1861.

The coffin having been placed in the vestry, the funeral service was continued by the Rev. S. F. Cumberlege. The whole of the service was conducted in a very impressive manner—the Rev. S. F. Cumberlege reading very effectively. The floor of the church had been sprinkled with sawdust so that any person entering during the service caused no disturbance, and perfect silence reigned throughout the crowded edifice. Unlike the proceedings on many occasions of this character (when it not unfrequently happens that public curiosity is so great as almost to pass the bounds of solemnity), every person present appeared conscious that a great and good man had fallen, and of the important lessons such an event is calculated to teach. The pulpit and reading-desk were hung in black, but beyond this there was no appearance of mourning about the church.

The town and county of Bedford were well represented at the funeral, and a similar remark is applicable to the farmers and agriculturalists of Bedfordshire. Several of the neighbouring clergy were present and among them were—the Venerable Archdeacon Tatham, the Rev. G. A. Burnaby, of Bedford; the Rev. I. V. Moore, of Aspley; the Rev. H. Hutton, formerly of Woburn, and then of St. Paul's, Covent Garden; the Rev. J. Matthews, curate of Chenies; the Rev. B. Burgess, the Rev. A. F. Ayland, and the Rev. E. W. Cooke, librarian to the Duke. Thomas Bennett, Esq., (Steward to the late Duke); Thomas Barnard, Esq.; Thomas Twining Wing, Esq.; J. N. Foster, Esq.; H. W. Beauford, Esq.; C. Parker, Esq.; Mr. Woods, Mr. Sprague, and Mr. Veasey were present. Also the following gentlemen from Bedford :—The Mayor (John Howard, Esq.); Mr. Alderman Higgins, Mr. Alderman Hurst, Mr. W. W. Kilpin, Mr. F. Thompson, and Mr. Wicks, of the Swan Hotel. The members of the Corporation formed part of the funeral procession. Of the tenantry in attendance there were—Mr. T. James, Cople; Mr. T. Twitchell, Willington; Mr. Hine, Knotting; Mr. Pike, Stevington; Mr. Horrell, Oakley; Mr. John Purser, Cople; Mr. William Purser, Willington; Mr. Charles Street, Mr. Joseph Brimley, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Crouch, Lidlington; Mr. Platt Ridgmount; Mr. Binyon, Mr. Battams, Lidlington; Mr. Gostling, Oakley; Mr. Oakley; Mr. Samuel Bennett, Ridgmount; Mr.

Abraham Crouch, Ridgmount Park; Mr. Overman, Maulden; Mr. John Seabrook, Maulden; Mr. Pike Eversholt; and Mr. Thomas Brown, Willington. The congregation,—which consisted for the most part of the tenantry, and inhabitants of the parish and of the town and county of Bedford,—entered the church before the body arrived.

The Earl of Strafford and the Hon. Frederick Byng attended the service.

As the Rev. S. F. Cumberlege pronounced that part of the service in which are the striking words, "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust," the body was consigned to the vaults beneath the Chapel, after which the mourners left the church, and returned to the rectory. The noble mourners having departed, the congregation was allowed to visit the vault. The coffin of the late Duke had been placed in a recess on the left, at the end of the vault, the only coffin which had previously occupied being that of the late much esteemed Duchess, and on the top of the coffin of the Duchess that of the Duke was placed. The whole of the congregation having visited the vault, the villagers and others who had been unable to gain admission to the church, and some hundreds of persons, availed themselves of the opportunity. The vast concourse then dispersed. Lord John Russell and the majority of the noble mourners left Chenies about three o'clock. Mr. Aspinwall, of Grosvenor street, London, conducted the whole of the arrangements in connection with the funeral. At seven o'clock in the evening, the Rev. Samuel Frederick Cumberlege preached a sermon to improve the solemn occasion. The attendance was very large. Several of the shops in Woburn have been partially closed since the decease of the Duke. On the Tuesday the bells of the parish church tolled during the morning. And at Bedford a dumb peal was rung on the bells of St. Paul's church from one to two o'clock. Thus terminated the funeral of one of the greatest men connected with the County of Bedford for many years. The impression which the whole service made on the minds of those present was of no ordinary character, and many were the expressions of the deepest regret that so good a man had been called away. The great, noble, and important work which the deceased nobleman had for so many years been accomplishing, had been brought to a close; and in addition to the vast amount of benefit which all connected with him have derived ever since His Grace held the dukedom, he has left behind him a name which will long be remembered by many throughout the country with the deepest veneration and esteem, and an example which is well worthy of imitation by every man of the same rank in the kingdom.

The late Duke had but one son, Lord William Russell, Marquis of Tavistock, born June 30, 1809, who succeeded to the Dukedom as well as the extensive estates belonging to the house of Russell in Bedfordshire, Devonshire, Hants., Cambridgeshire, and Middlesex. His Lordship, who was M.P. for Tavistock for 1832 to 1841, is unmarried. The heir presumptive is Hastings Russell, Esq., M.P. for Bedfordshire.

The Borough and Corporation.

Bedford is a very ancient Borough and Corporation by prescription. "The Corporation dates its first charter in 1165, and the last, which made the number fourteen, in 1666. The privileges were extensive, and so similar to those of Oxford, that they were accustomed to send there, when in doubt, for advice. There was a 'merchant guild,' and their exemptions extended to the sea and Normandy—'by land and by strand.'—*Parry*.

Its first charter on record is that of Henry II., who granted and confirmed the town of Bedford to the burgesses, subject to the payment of £40 per annum, as a fee-farm rent to the crown. Their mercantile guild and ancient privileges were confirmed by his son Richard, who succeeded him as king, and by him new privileges and immunities were granted, similar to those enjoyed by the burgesses of Oxford. The succeeding monarch, Richard II., granted still more extended privileges, and among others a view of franc-pledge within the borough; in this charter the corporation are styled the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses. The bailiffs having neglected to discharge the fee-farm rent, in the reign of Edward I., the liberties of the town were seized by that monarch.

From the "*Chronicon Petroburgense*" we obtain the following information, "*de itinere justiciariorum apud Bedefordiam* :—*Bedefordia*.

Abbas de Burgo sancti Petri summonitus fuit ad respondendum domino Regi de placito Quo Warento clamat habere visum franci plegii, weyf, placitum vetiti namii, et returnum brevium domini Regis in manerio suo de Stanewigge, catalla felonum et fugitivorum, et amerciamenta que ex murthero et ex aliis foris facturis hominum suorum proveniunt. Et quo Warento clamat levare debita domini Regis infra predictum manerium, et inde ad Scaccarium domini Regis respondere per manum suam, que ad dominum Regem et coronam suam pertinent, etc.

Et abbas per attornatum suum venit et dicit quo ad visum franci plegii, quod clama tenere predictum visum bis per annum, et inquit de omnibus articulis de quibus vicecomes inquit in turno suo. Et dicit* quod sedes predicti manerii est in comitatu Norhamtonie in parte, et clamat tenere predictum visum de omnibus commorantibus in predicto manerio.

Requisitus si habeat furcas et alia judicialia apud Undele in comitatu Norhamtonie que deserviunt predicto manerio de Stanewigge.

Quesitus si aliquis malefactor captus sit in comitatu isto, ad quam prisonam clamat illum deducere: ad quod respondere non curat. Sed dicit quod clamat tenere visum predictum sine ballivo Regis.

* Anno Domini M.^o cc.^o Aogesimo sexto.

Requisitus quot habet decennarios ; ad quod respondere non curat.

Dies datus est de audiendo iudicio suo a die Pasche in XV. dies apud Westmonasterium, coram thesaurario et baronibus de Scaccario, etc."

Parry informs us that, according to NONARUM INQUISITIONES, in the *British Museum*:—in the year 1340, in the reign of Edward III., when a *ninth* of all the possessions were granted to the King, then invading France, viz: the *ninth* lamb, the *ninth* fleece, and the *ninth* sheaf; and of cities and boroughs, a *ninth* part of their goods and chattels, £8 only was returned by the corporation for the borough of Bedford. This being (and no doubt justly), thought much too little, a fresh set of commissioners were appointed, but it appears they had done nothing at the date of the report.

It appears from a plea of "quo warranto," temp. Ed. III., that there was then an assize of bread and beer; offences against which were punished by a pillory and a tumbrel (a "turning" pillory—Strutt).—*Parry in Gentleman's Magazine*, 1849.

He also tells us that, according to PLACITA DE QUO WARRANTO (likewise in the *British Museum*)—The mayor and commonalty, in the reign of Edward III., were summoned to shew by what right they held all their privileges and their guild of merchants, so that none who were not free of this could exercise any merchandize among them. The mayor and corporation answered (by their attorney, Ambrose de Chauveston) that they held them from time immemorial, and that King Richard I. had confirmed all the donations of King Henry, his father, viz., freedom from toll, pontage, stallage, lestage, from burthens (*sartis*), and all other things in England and Normandy, by sea and land, and on the sea-shore, *Biland* and *Bistrahund*. That they had also *Sac.*, *Sol.*, *Thol.*, *Theam*, and *Infangenethef*; and, generally, the same privileges as the burgesses of Oxford; so that when they were in doubt they sent to Oxford for advice, and were determined by their opinion. They offered to the King a fine of eight marks. It appeared that the mayor and the two coroners had rashly exercised the right of capital punishment, by hanging or "infangenethef," which was considered a leasing of the King's crown and dignity, and the coronership seems to have been taken away, because it was stated that the office of coroner respected only the King's crown and sovereignty, and that no one could be appointed to it without his consent, and that they had unadvisedly used their authority; at least, such appears, as far as it can be understood, to be the tenor of the arguments.

In the reign of Henry VI., the inhabitants of Bedford petitioned the King to show them his mercy, their town being much decayed, many houses gone to ruin, and the trade of it brought low, and the usual issues discontinued; accordingly he granted that the yearly *ferm* should be remitted in part for a time.

In the year 1471, out of the fee-farm rent payable from the town, £46 or £42 per annum, £20 was granted for his life, to the Duke of Clarence (Shakspeare's), payable in equal payments at Easter and Michaelmas, by the hands of the men of the town themselves, by the sheriff of Beds., and Bucks., or by any of the accustomed receivers of the town.—*Rymer's Fœdera*.

In 1504, the 19th year of Henry VII.'s reign, the inhabitants petitioned to be freed from the payment of £22 of the £42, or, as it was sometimes considered, £46 fee-farm rent; they stated that they should be unable to raise it any longer, without injury and extortion to the inhabitants, and the destruction of the two bailiffs, who ought to be annually elected. They also showed that, without the help of the king, the town would be utterly destroyed; that the greater part of the inhabitants were determined to remove from the town, unless the fine be remitted; that the mayor, &c., had no certain means of raising the above, more than £25 11s. 10½d., which proceeded from certain tenements, specified in a certain "heygable" of Edward III., and of which tenements contained in the same, 100 messuages were entirely destroyed, so that nothing except the site remained, and no part of £14 9s. 6½d. could now be collected from the same, as it once was; and that 180 other messuages, contained in the same estimate, were not inhabited, so that the customs and tolls of Bedford were only valued on an average at 20s. 4d. They said that all this was caused by the building of a new bridge at Bereford (or Barford), which *drew the water of the Ouse higher*; by this means the town was not only deprived of the benefit of the passage and accommodation of travellers, who now went through Barford instead, to the neighbouring market towns, but also of all the tolls and customs of cattle, waifs, strays, &c., &c.; so that, upon the whole, the inhabitants were not able to pay more than £20 of the above £42 without their entire ruin. Upon this, the king granted them the remission they requested for sixty years; and two years afterwards, upon their representing that they dreaded the idea of the possibility of a return of the whole demand on their descendants, even at that remote period, he kindly granted them a charter, binding his successors to remit it for ever.

In the year 1537, Bedford was in some sense a bishoprick, having a *suffragan* bishop. These were not uncommon at that time, to assist the diocesan bishops in their public functions; they had, we believe, no diocesan power over the clergy. The notice, as follows, is taken from *Rymer's Fœdera*.

"Dec. 3, 1537. Anno 29 H. VIII.

"The King to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, &c., recites, that John Bishop of London had signified to him, that his Diocese was without, and much stood in need of, the comfort of a Suffragan Bishop; and, therefore, he presented to the King two discreet men, John Hodgkyn and Robert Struddell, Doctors of Divinity, in Priest's orders, and lawfully married, and of legal age—men well versed in spiritual and temporal affairs, against whom there was no canonical objection—humbly praying the King to nominate one of them to

some see of a Suffragan Bishop within the province of Canterbury; to which the King graciously assented, and nominated one of them, John Hodgkyn, to be Suffragan Bishop of the see of *Bedford*, requiring the Archbishop to consecrate him to the same."

From Speed's Maps of England and Wales, 1610, in the possession of the Bedford Archæological Society there is a very perspicuous plan of Bedford, with references; the aspect of which is as follows:—

The arms of the town the same; the ruins of the castle appear of considerable extent, most of the churches then built are very similar in appearance; nearly behind the present jail is a large detached tower, without any description; where the market place is, was the "Moute Hall;" and nearly where the Sessions House is, the "Poultry Market." St. John's Hospital looks like a small church, and has a tower gateway next the street. The Grey Friars has three sides perfect, with a tower and small spire. Cawdwell is visible, with a tower and spire also—a wall, with a tower gateway in front; and an avenue of trees, with a wall and portal, next the road from Cawdwell street. Newenham is not seen. Near the present Harpur Place is a building, looking something like a Convent, with a spire, which is also walled in from the street, and may possibly be the jail. The town appears on the whole quite as large, as it was about the year 1830. Down the river, on the south side, is a large mill, called Duck Mill. There appear to be one or two erections, like Obelisks or May Poles, in the *middle* of the High Street, near the bridge, which can scarcely be sign-posts. Several names occur of streets and lanes, which have been extinct for some time. It is possible that this plan might have been taken fifty years, or more, before it was published.

From an old record of the time of Edward III., we learn that a part of the town was then called "Aldermanbury," principally belonging to the Abbess of Elstow; but the name does not occur in the present plan.

Lewis informs us that "during the civil war in the reign of Charles I., this town, which had been garrisoned for the Parliament, surrendered to Prince Rupert, in 1643; the parliamentary troops, under Col. Montague, afterwards entered it by stratagem, and carried off some money and horses, which had been brought thither for the use of the royalists."

And Parry states that "in the time of the civil wars, Bedford was the scene of some military operations; but the accounts of them are extremely slight. The King had very few friends in Bedfordshire. In October, 1643, the King sent Prince Rupert, with a strong party of horse and foot, into Bedfordshire, who took the town of Bedford, which was occupied as a strong quarter by the enemy (*Query*: how fortified?) This expedition was probably designed to countenance Sir Lewis Dyves, of Bromham, whilst he *fortified*

Newport-Pagnell, at which place he hoped to fix a garrison. Heath says, it was Sir Lewis Dyves himself that commanded this expedition; and that, being sent into Bedfordshire with 2000 or 3000 horse, he came first to Ampthill, then to Bedford, which town he entered, and took Sir John Norris and other parliamentary officers prisoners. From thence he went to the house of Sir Samuel Luke (Butler's *Hudibras*), "and served *that* as his *own* house at Bromham had been served by the sequestrators." "Soon after this, Col. Montague, with some of the parliamentary forces, entered Bedford by a feint, under a pretence of their being the royal army, under Sir Lewis Dyves, and took away some money and horses intended for the King's use." It is a very singular coincidence, that nearly about this time the royalist forces executed an exactly similar manœuvre, and with the same success, at Luton. This is all that occurs respecting Bedford at this period.

"In 1672 the town was visited by a tremendous hurricane; and, as happily it did little harm beyond "mazing" and frightening people, we can afford to smile at the wonderful things described in a pamphlet in the *British Museum*. Trees were blown over rivers and spires, stuck in the ground *volentes volentes*, and again dislanted,—inn gates whirled about like footballs,—coaches driven without horses several poles' distance,—apricot trees carried on an airing a quarter of a mile,—onion and radish beds two miles,—hostlers "constrained to fix themselves to a post to prevent being blown away"—tanner's men, for ditto, to "grope on their bellies" in passing over the bridge (parapet only $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high),—a woman, sitting by her fire, had her chimney blown away, and she "removed in the middle of the house, without any apparent hurt, save the amazement," (hardly knowing "what's what," we may well suppose, worthy soul, at that particular moment of her existence)."—*Parry, in Gentleman's Magazine*.

The following curious account of this extraordinary hurricane and tempest, is taken from pamphlet in the *British Museum*.

STORM AT BEDFORD, 1672.

"On Monday last, 19th of this instant August, hap'ned, in our town of Bedford, an horrible and unheard of tempest, with much terrible thunder, rain, and lightning, to the general amazement and horror of all the inhabitants, beginning about one o'clock in the afternoon and continuing for about half an hour; in which time it threw the Swan Inn gates off the hinges into the street; and after it had whirled them there up and down like a foot ball, it broke them to pieces. It drove a coach in the same yard, from the back gates up almost to the cellar door, which is several poles from thence. *It carried a great tree from beyond the river over our Paul's steeple, as if it had been a bundle of feathers.*

"* * * * In Offel Lane, the violence was such that it bore down two houses in an instant, to the dreadful amazement of the spectators, that, blessed

be God, escaped maiming. * * * In one of our gardens, it rent up onion and radish beds by the roots with an incredible violence, carrying them almost two miles. It plucked up a large apricock tree by the roots, and rent it from the walls to which it was nailed, and carried it over houses and hedges almost a quarter of a mile.

"* * * It brought a large tree from some place unknown, and set it upright in a field belonging to the Swan Inn, striking the roots of it nigh a foot into the ground; and thence plucked it up again, and carried it some certain paces further. It tore also many arms from the trees, and carried them over the river.

"The Rose Inn gates it threw off the hinges into the middle of the street. The Maiden-head Inn gates it served in like manner, and brake them to pieces.

"* * * Mr. Christy, our lawyer, hath also received much hurt by this strange tempest, which also came to John Rushe's shop, driving his sieves, pales, and other wooden ware up and down the streets, making a heavy clattering, scarce to be credited. The head hostler at the Ram Inn and his man were constrained to fix themselves to a post, otherwise they had been carried away by the violence.

"At Mr. Beverley's there were trees of twenty inches square rent to pieces. The church called Saint Peter is much damnified also. The church called Saint John hath met with share in this tempest.

"* * * Wooburne also, as we are informed, felt something of this terrible tempest, some houses in that town being levelled with the ground by it. It is reported by passengers upon the road, that they see a great combustion in the air—the clouds as it were fighting one against another, inso-much that they thought, at a distance, the town of Bedford was on a light fire." * * *

POSTSCRIPT.

"It is very remarkable, that all this did not much harm upon any one, save in the terror of it, sufficiently great, one man excepted, that was hurt with a piece of timber. * * * Near *Justice Barber's* ground was a stone wall blown down, and such breaches made that two carts abreast might go thorow. Twenty of the Justice's stoutest elms were torn up by the roots; and the violence was so great that it cleared his orchard of most of his fruit trees, much of the fruit blown into meadows on the other side the river Owse. A tanner's man coming over the bridge was taken up from the ground, and hardly escaped blowing over the bridge, insomuch that he fell on his belly, and crawled away upon his hands and knees. It blew down several houses at the farther end of the town, and removed one house two yards out of its place, and set the

threshold where the middle of the house was before. It blew also many, several stacks of hay, which are not yet to be found. A woman sitting by her fire had her chimney blown away, and she removed in the middle of the house, without any other apparent hurt save the amazement. A fisherman had a great pile of flags carried away, which, after two days' search, was found in Putney Pastors, two miles distant from the said fisherman's house. * * *

"These worthy and credible testimonies, with thousands more, were eye witness, that might be inserted: take as followeth:—

"Mr. ANTHONY METHNAL, *Maior.*
JOHN GARDENER, *Recorder.*
FRANCIS BECKET, *Alderman.*
THOMAS CHRISTY, *Attorney.*
GEORGE MARGETS.
JOHN CRAWLEY.
JOHN RUSH, *Bedford Waggoner."*

Whether the veracious testimonies will bear out the high colouring of this marvellous account, the reader must judge for himself: he is certainly at liberty to take it *cum grano salis*; and if the extraordinary performances in tumbling and dancing, of those articles which have been usually considered (unjustly it appears) destitute of action and vivacity, excite a smile, it will be a very innocent one.—*Parry.*

This is not the first hurricane which visited Bedford, for Matthew Paris relates that, in 1256, Bedford, with other places, was visited by a terrible storm of rain, lightening, and thunder (on Saint Ciriac's Day). The mill wheel were torn from their axles and dashed against neighbouring houses, and the windmill sails were broken by the wind. Piles of bridges, hayricks, fishermen's cottages, with nets and punts, and even children in their cradles, were washed away, "so that Deucalion's deluge seemed restored."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1849.

September 4, 1769.—Came on at Bedford the election of mayor of that corporation for the year ensuing, at which his grace the Duke of Bedford attended, as recorder of that borough. A question was first proposed in the corporation, whether any new freemen should be admitted? which was carried in the affirmative by seventeen to eleven, against the Duke of Bedford. After this resolution, the court proceeded to the choice of the mayor, when it was agreed that those in opposition to his grace should poll first, and accordingly they polled to the number of 456, when the duke's friends gave up the contest, after polling 25 only.—*Doddsley's Annual Register.*

It appears that, on the 25th of May, 1802, seventy-two houses on the north side of the town, most of them being very mean cottages, were destroyed

by fire. The Messrs. Lysons have left us the following description of this calamity :—"The fire was occasioned by a piece of red-hot horse shoe, from a blacksmith's forge, falling on the thatch of a house. The damage amounted to £2,000. The sufferers being mostly of the poorer sort, a very liberal subscription was made for them in the town and county, amounting nearly to the whole of their loss. Neat cottages have been built on the site of those which were destroyed by the fire."

Parry in an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* gives the following account of the fire :—"In 1801 there was a great fire on the north side of the town, which destroyed seventy houses, principally poor cottages; the loss, amounting to £2,000 was principally compensated by subscription. The principal street was admirably paved with flags. The town had been lighted some time before, early in the present century."

The following account appeared in "*Doddsley's Annual Register*," May 27, 1802 :—"A dreadful fire broke out in the town of Bedford, which threatened, in the first instance, to consume the whole town. It began at a blacksmith's shop, but from what cause has not been discovered. It has destroyed seventy-two houses, and deprived 700 persons of their homes, who have lost their all. A very liberal subscription has been set on foot for the relief of the sufferers."

The following "Lines written by a Spectator of the Fire at Bedford, May 25th, 1802," were composed by the Rev. Samuel Hilyard, and printed and sold in the form of a pamphlet or tract, price sixpence, by W. Smith, of Bedford. The following quotation from Virgil appeared on the title page :—

*Jam———dedit———ruinam,
Vulcano superante domus, jam proximus ardet.
Tum vero omne matri visum, considerare in ignes
(Oppidum.)*

Virg: *Æn*:—B. 2.

LINES, &c.

————— *Quæque ipse miserrima vidi.*

Again it comes—louder, and still more loud,
The dreadful tumult of the noisy crowd;
Clearly I hear the sound, no winds controul,
The cry of *Fire* invades the trembling soul.

Ye elements, when fetter'd and confin'd,
What blessings ye produce for human kind!
But when ye break the bounds that nature gave,
What hand from your destructive pow'r can save?
In spite of water on th' assisting throng,
See how yon fire now rages fierce and strong.

Behold the Blaze ascending to the sky,
 While wide abroad the smoak and ashes fly !
 Loud shrieks and cries—the language of distress,
 Declare what sorrows all the crowd possess :
 While some, perhaps, lie breathless in the flame,
 Consum'd to ashes, and without a name.
 With eager haste all seek the burning plain,
 Where desolation holds his dismal reign.
 The flames burst furious through yon humble roof,
 And raging still, it never cries—*enough* ;
 The wind, its great allie, pow'rful and strong,
 Rushes through ev'ry breach, and drives along—

What various scenes attract the muses eyes !
 From view to view, irregular she flies :
 No wonder this, when, such confusion reigns,
 Confus'd and wand'ring are the muse's strains.
 What num'rous hands the lawless foe engage !
 What streams of water strive his wrath t' assuage !
 Now half subdued, he seems, in smoak conceal'd,
 Now all his fury is in flame reveal'd.
 The beam wide-blazing from the garret falls,
 The chamber burns and leaves the blacken'd walls.
 In vain, their utmost pow'r th' assistants try,
 Busy, in vain, from place to place they fly ;
 With useless zeal against the foe thy arm,
 Or run to neighb'ring towns to spread th' alarm,
 With constant buckets ev'ry fountain drain,
 And hand the water down a lengthen'd lane.
 All classes there to save the town combine ;
 But most of all the *Fair* adorn the line ;
 Their tender arms drive heavy pails along,
 Though weak by nature, mercy makes them strong ;
 Fam'd for their *kindness*, through succeeding days,
 Their onward charms shall have the second praise,
 While Bedford boasts, that, next to Providence,
 Her brightest ornaments became her best Defence.

These ply the Engines, those conduct the stream,
 Where most they dread the desolating flame.
 Calling for water, there, the lab'rer stands,
 And pulls the timber off with daring hands ;
 With iron hooks some tear whole houses down,
 In hopes to save a remnant of the town,
 Where-e'er they go the smoak and flame proceed,
 And fiery ashes all around succeed.
 Onward destruction rushes with the wind,
 And ruin'd stacks alone remain behind.

Amidst the ruins, see, on either hand,
 With watchful eyes, what crowds of mourners stand,
 And if its flames the latent fire renew,
 Pour on fresh streams its fury to subdue.
 Those further on, already seiz'd with fear,
 Of their best stores the dang'rous houses clear ;
 The master, loth to see his treasure burn,
 And all his furniture to ashes turn,
 Stays to preserve it till he's forc'd to go,

'Till o'er his head he sees the blazing foe ;
 Then, from the window, seeking help aloud,
 He, scarce escaping, leaps amongst the crowd :
 Or if, perhaps, still laden with his store,
 And scorched with heat, at last he finds the door,
 The rage of the pursuing foe he feels,
 Scorching his clothes, and foll'wing at his heels.

Now, mark the tender matron—hear her sighs !
 “ Ah, where's my child, my tender care ? ” she cries,—
 “ Good heav'n preserve !—by why the vain desire ?
 “ E'en now, perhaps, he broils amidst the fire.
 “ Alas, the Children shriek ! 'tis there he falls,
 “ Amongst his play-mates lost beneath the walls !
 “ How will his Father when he knows it, mourn
 “ A Child so lovely from his bosom torn !
 “ But, Ah, no more his Father's love I share,
 “ Perhaps, no more he draws the vital air !
 “ I know his courage and his manly mind,
 “ Too brave he was, too much to danger blind ;
 “ 'Tis likely, if alive, high on a beam,
 “ Daring he stands, to pour the constant stream,
 “ The fire around him spreads, no help is giv'n,
 “ In agonies he dies———Oh help me Heav'n ! ”
 Such fears unfounded, seize the tender soul,
 Fears which no voice of reason can controul.
 But not such fears have all.———With stagg'ring feet,
 The harden'd drunkard reels along the street ;
 The desp'rate Plund'rer of the suffer'ing poor,
 Retires accurs'd to hide his cursed store.
 While others daring swear against the flame,
 And use in blasphemy th' Eternal Name.

Well might the winds still rage, the fires increase,
 If all like these forsook the ways of peace :
 But, there are those, who yield what God had lent
 Without a murmur, in his will content ;
 And though the sons of wickedness abound,
 More than ten righteous souls may still be found ;
 Their voice of pray'r is heard, and heav'nly love,
 Sends Godlike Mercy from the realms above.
 The sons of woe who fear'd th' approaching night,
 And saw new scenes of terror rise to sight,
 Suppress their fears. Those, who had pray'd before,
 Break forth in praises, and their God adore.
 Thus ends the dreadful scene.—— And now the wise,
 Or those reputed so, begin t'advise :
 One tells the wond'rous deeds his arm has wrought,
 What timely help in desp'rate need he brought :
 Another proves the skill was all his own
 That sav'd from ruin the remaining town :
 A third maintains, would all have heard his voice
 Many who now must suffer might rejoice.
 Thus they debate, while others, more retire,
 Walk musing o'er the ruins of the fire.
 Perhaps, some aged Pilgrim views her cot,
 Or where it stood, (which cannot be forgot.)
 Unknowing where a future house to find

She thus begins—"When Friends and Heav'n were kind,
 "Here, safe retreat, my humble cottage stood,
 "And here have I enjoy'd celestial food,
 "Unenvied by the Great, though rais'd on high,
 "Beneath the smiles of him who rules the sky :
 "There stood the closet where my bible lay
 "Where oft I read it, where I learn'd to pray,
 "And found my title to the realms of day. }
 "I griev'd when I beheld my little store
 "Consum'd, and knew not where to look for more ;
 "But when I'd sav'd my pillow and my book,
 "All cares, awhile, my thankful heart forsook.
 "Still I, with lab'ring hands, can earn my bread,
 "And still have got the word of God to read."
 Go, learn of her ye sons of wealth and pow'r,
 To be contented with your ample dow'r ;
 Go, find out such as her to share your store,
 And be ye blessed, while ye bless the poor.
 Untouch'd by fire, behold your roofs remain !
 They stand, nor will ye let them stand in vain,
 Supplies, from thence, the wretched suff'ers find,
 Expell'd by fire, and open to the wind.
 No more the Cottage where the Lab'rer sate,
 With cheerful children, and contented mate,
 Recounting o'er the labours of the day,
 When ev'ning came, and learned to praise and pray :
 Where on their humble diet duly fed,
 They free from gnawing cares retired to bed,
 No more the Cottage : but the King of Kings
 Covers you with the shadow of his wings.
 Cheer up ye outcasts from your house and home,
 Beneath the refuge of th' Almighty come.
 Here cast your care on him who cares for you,
 And trust his word, for all his words are true :
 Your wants shall by his bounty be supplied,
 And all things needful with his hand provide.
 These fires are sent to purify and prove,
 And make you meet t' enjoy the realms above.
 Then, when the wretch who shuns the voice of God,
 Neglects his counsel, and contemns his rod,
 Shall see with trembling fear, and wild amaze,
 The earth and heav'n in one tremendous blaze :
 Ye, kindly notic'd by the Judge's eye,
 Shall join yon cheerful bands above the sky.
 A Mansion shall receive you free from cares :
 That splendid mansion Jesus now prepares :
 Secure from storms it stands, from fire secure,
 And shall through all eternity endure.

Prior to the Municipal Act, the municipal government of the Borough was vested in a mayor, recorder, 2 bailiffs, an indefinite number of aldermen, 2 chamberlains, 13 common councilmen, a town clerk, 3 sergeants-at-arms, and other inferior officers. The number of aldermen was necessarily uncertain, because every burgess who had served the office of mayor, was ever after an alderman. The town was then divided into several wards, as the prebend's

ward, &c. ; it is now divided into only two wards, designated the East and West wards. By the Municipal Act, passed in 1835,

THE CORPORATION.

now consists of a mayor, 6 aldermen, and 18 councillors, elected by the burgesses ; a third retiring every year. The revenues of the corporation are derived from various sources, such as rental, market tolls, weighing machine, prosecutions, maintenance of prisoners, clerk of the peace, repayment for police, weights and measures, fines levied on offenders, miscellaneous, and the borough rates. From these revenues, are annually paid—The expenses of administration of justice, inquests, maintenance of prisoners, lunatic asylum, militia storehouse, gaol loan, salaries and allowances, prosecutions, summary convictions, rents, collection of tolls, weights and measures, fire engines, clothing, printing, stationery, &c., rates and taxes, quit rents, charities, law charges, repairs, insurance, burgess lists, miscellaneous, police, and police expenses.

The general management of the highways, and the direction of the watching, lighting, and draining of the borough were formerly vested in commissioners, appointed under the local act, who resigned some years since, and their duties consequently devolved upon the town council.

REPRESENTATION OF THE BOROUGH IN PARLIAMENT.

The borough has returned two representatives to the House of Commons since the 23rd year of Edward I.'s reign, 1259. In the 5th year of Henry V., Twelve Burgesses were the Electors of Bedford. In the 25th year, the Mayor and Ten other elected the Burgesses for Bedford. In the reign of King James II., the mayor and aldermen were removed from their respective offices, by royal mandate, for having neglected to elect two burgesses to serve in Parliament: in consequence of this neglect, the members were chosen by his Majesty's ministers.

In Vol. II. p. 1105, Rushworth has supplied the names of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the Counties, Cities, and Borough Towns of England and Wales, and the Barons of the Ports, summoned to sit in Parliament, holden at Westminster, 13th day of April, 1640, in the 16th year of the Reign of King Charles. The list commences with

Bedford (County).....	2
„ (Town)	2

In the 18th year of Charles I's reign, 1642, Mr. George, Vicar of Cople, near Bedford, having received two Declarations from Parliament, and one from the King, with a Command from the Parliament, that he should not publish that from the King, says, " Judge, whether I am to obey God or Man. By God's Word, I am commanded to obey the King. I find no such command

for the Parliament." Upon which he threw away the two Declarations "scornfully." He was committed to Newgate, and fined £100.

On the 16th of August, the *Lords* sent for a minister from Bedfordshire, who had preached to the Scandal of the Parliament.

On the 23rd of December, 1642, the 18th year of the reign of King Charles I., Petitions from *Bedfordshire*, London, and St. Andrew's, for Peace, and a happy Agreement between the King and the Parliament were received.

During the Commonwealth, on January 9th, 1650, the Heads of Debate were Resolved on by the Parliament, for the better and more equal distribution of members to be chosen to serve in Parliament, and for settling the succession of future Parliaments. Several Counties, Cities, and Boroughs to have the several members hereafter expressed, to be by them from time to time elected to sit and serve in Parliament, which shall consist in the whole of 400 and not above. In the list referred to, the names of the Counties, &c., are arranged alphabetically: the first on the list is the "County of Bedford and all Places within the same," followed by the number 6.

On November 26, 1650, it was "Resolved that Mr. Richard Edwards, of Bedfordshire, should come into the House, and attend the service of Parliament."

The right of election was determined in 1690, to be the freemen and burgesses (whether resident or not), and inhabitants (householders not receiving alms); but, by the act of the 2nd of William IV., cap. 45, the former non-resident electors, except within seven miles, have been disfranchised, but the constituency has not otherwise been altered, nor have the limits of the borough, which comprises the parishes of St. Paul, St. Peter, St. Cuthbert, St. Mary, and St. John, containing 2,164 acres, undergone any change. Samuel Lewis informs us that at the first general election under the above Act, "the number of £10 householders registered was 975, and of freemen 597, of whom 961 polled; the expenses of the returning officers, who were the mayor and bailiffs, amounted to £249 8s. 10d." Browne Willis, in his last edition of the *Notitia Parliamentaria*, speaks of the number of voters as being about 700. The Lysons, in their *Magna Britannia*, state that at the contested election in 1790, 1148 voters polled.

Prior to the Reform Act, the elective franchise was vested by an order, dated April 12, 1690, in the burgesses, freemen and inhabitants being householders, and not receiving alms. The laws and customs affecting the burgesses and freemen of the borough are as follows—

The office of burgess is both hereditary and elective; every son of a burgess born after his father's admission, is entitled to be admitted a freeman, and by such admission becomes a burgess. Honorary burgesses are created by the

common council without any restriction either as to number or qualification; only notice must be given at a previous meeting of the council. The fees on admission by birth amount to £2 10s. including the stamp. There is a payment of 14s. 8d. to the corporation fund, 7s. 8d. to the town clerk; and other small fees to the inferior officers; on admission by gift the latter fees are higher. The burgesses are sworn before the court of aldermen, and they are still required to promise in their burgess oath, that they "will utterly forsake and eschew for ever the usurped power and unlawful jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, here most justly abolished." Besides obedience to the town authorities, they promise to assist in the apprehension and attachment of traitors, and other offenders, and in bringing them to justice "for the reformation of such their misdemeanours." They alone are eligible to a place in the council, and all superior officers must be chosen from them. The character of the ruling body must therefore depend very much on the persons who compose this class.*

The freemen are created by birth, apprenticeship, purchase and gift. The son first born after his father's admission is entitled to his freedom at the age of twenty-one, his title is ascertained by a burgess court, which is assembled twice a year; an apprenticeship for seven years with a freeman, resident or nonresident, followed by an actual and faithful service for the same period, entitles the apprentice to admission; the purchase of freedom has been regulated by successive bye-laws, and various sums fixed as the purchase money, the highest sum was £20; honorary freemen are created by the council without any restriction as to residence, service, number or property. All admissions take place at the court of aldermen, when the same oath is administered which is taken by a burgess. The fees on admission are the same as those paid by a burgess, except that in the latter case the sergeants' fees are double; each freeman has a voice in the election of the mayor, bailiffs, common councilmen, chamberlain and town clerk. The inferior officers, with the exception of the field-drivers, are chosen from their own body.

The unlimited power of creating freemen, above alluded to, is obviously

* At the beginning of the present century, the corporation experienced a difficulty in finding proper persons to fill its municipal offices. In 1802, a lawyer who had been elected mayor refused to serve, because the council was composed of persons with whom he thought it below him to associate; and he stated this reason for refusing, to the recorder, the then Duke of Bedford. In the same year, the father of the late duke, succeeding his brother, addressed, soon after his election, letters to several resident gentlemen; in which, after stating his wish to conciliate the differences existing between the corporation and the Town of Bedford, and that the corporation had acceded to a proposal he had made to them, for the admission into their body, a certain number of the most respectable inhabitants of the town, he expressed a hope that the individuals addressed would acquiesce in his wish, by accepting the office of burgess. This invitation was accepted, and twelve of the most respectable inhabitants of different political opinions were admitted as burgesses. Of this number one half were known political opponents of the recorder. In the following year they were elected into corporate offices without distinction of parties or opinions.

liable to great abuse. From 1738, the year when the list of these admissions were first preserved, to 1791, when creations of any extent ceased to be made, we find the following additions to their number: in 1738, 50 non-residents were elected; in 1740 again a considerable number; in 1747, about 100, principally non-residents; in 1748, the same number, all non-residents; in 1748, 35; from 1749 to 1761, about 50 per annum; in 1767, from 70 to 80; in 1769, 500; in 1770, about 50; in 1773, the same; in 1774, the same; in 1775, the same; in 1779, the same; in 1780, the same; in 1786, in same; from 1789 to 1791, about 350. From this list it will appear that the greatest number enrolled, at one time, was in 1769, when 500 were created in the interest of Sir Robert Barnard, afterwards recorder of the borough. These new freemen, it is said, came from Huntingdonshire, and were the tenants and neighbours of Sir Robert Barnard. They were called at that time "guinea-pigs" because perhaps they received a guinea each. The objects of their mission was to support the political interests of Sir Robert. On the secession of that gentlemen from the recordership in 1789; and the appointment of the Duke of Bedford, it will be found from what we have stated, that from that year to 1791, 350 new freemen were created in the interests of the new recorder. This act of the corporation is thus represented by a political opponent: 'The Duke of Bedford finding that he had not sufficient influence to dragoon us, resolved to create a fresh body of freemen, to the number of at least 150; these persons constituting a body of men, consisting of his own tenants and tradesmen, and the tenants and tradesmen of other persons attached to him in politics. Some persons have offered to lend an apology for his grace's conduct upon this occasion, stating that the object of the noble duke was not to crupper and controul the town, but to raise a great body of men to act as a counterpoise to those out-voters (elected at a prior period) who had poured into the borough in 1790, much to the detriment of honest independence, and much to the injury of the free voice of the people of Bedford. On looking at the old poll-book, for 1790, I find that his grace's favourite candidate (Mr. Colhoun) polled more out-voters than the then candidate of the people; what then will be inferred from this? Simply, that the Duke of Bedford, the pretended friend of liberty, was not anxious to rest on the kind affections and attachment of the men of Bedford, but to establish such a foreign force as could annihilate their political rights for ever.'

The fact that many of the duke's servants and tradesmen were admitted to the freedom of the town is thus answered: "We know that some of the agents of the Duke of Bedford were ardent politicians and most active whigs. One of these gentlemen resided at Bedford, and had extensive connexions in the town, and Mr. Colhoun being a whig, they were becoming the most zealous of his and the corporation's party. They naturally had recourse in forwarding his views to those with whom, from other circumstances, they possessed weight and influence, and this led to so many of his graces' tenants and tradesmen becoming freemen of the town. But surely his grace ought not to be held responsible for the acts of his tenants and tradesmen, unless he is to be arraigned

not for controlling but for allowing too great a liberty to those connected with him. It may be admitted, and it is the only admission we have to offer, that it is possible he was aware of many of them having been made freemen, and that he did not interfere to prevent it. Why should he, more especially as his grace took no interest in political affairs, either local or general, at that time? But to conclude from his not preventing it, that he interfered to make them freemen, is nothing less than an absurdity." But what if Francis, Duke of Bedford, when little more than twenty-one, had countenanced a practice which was then thought fair in political warfare, was his memory for that to be charged with the reproach of tyranny? Transactions like these were not viewed with the same abhorrence forty years ago, that they very properly now are. Great changes have come upon us since then, as to our thoughts and actions, both in public bodies and private individuals.

This creation of freemen in 1791 was the last instance in this borough of such a practice; since then the franchise has with very few exceptions been conferred on those only who had a legal title, or who were willing and competent to undertake the municipal offices.

The present number of registered electors is upwards of 1000.

The election of the knights of the shire takes place in this town, it having been appointed one of the polling places, by the Act of the 2nd and 3rd of William IV., cap. 64.

THE POPULATION

of this town has very much increased of late years, as may be seen from the following statements:—

Abstract of the Population Returns from 1801 to 1861.

Parishes.	Population.							Houses.			
	1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.	1841.	1851.	1861.	1831	1841	1851	1861
St. Cuthbert	851	479	578	733	591	663	787	159	157	173	205
St. John	254	324	352	486	446	453	465	93	94	97	97
St. Mary	616	690	808	879	1042	1670	1869	162	189	279	390
St. Paul	2150	2489	3075	3956	5895	6709	7409	831	1301	1504	1638
St. Peter	577	623	653	905	1204	2198	2882	205	226	419	604
Totals	3948	4605	5466	6959	9178	11693	13412	1450	1967	2472	2934

Number of Inmates of Public Institutions, included in the Population Returns from 1831 to 1861.

Parishes.	Name of Institution.	Inmates.			
		1831	1841	1851	1861
St. Mary	General Infirmary. ..	75	108	100	98
St. Mary	*C'nty Lunatic Asylum	58	129	284	5
St. Paul.....	County Gaol.....	67	107	154	67
St. Peter	Workhouse	89	219	313	232
	Totals	289	563	851	402
* Now pulled down.					

Summary of Population Returns, taken Monday, March 31, 1851.

Parishes.	Number of Separate Occupiers	Number of Houses.			Number of Persons who abode therein on the night of Sunday, March 30th.		
		Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Building.	Males.	Females.	Total.
St. Cuthbert	160	159	14	—	319	344	663
St. John ..	91	91	5	1	220	233	453
St. Mary ..	264	264	12	3	751	919	1670
St. Paul....	1403	1394	108	2	3149	3560	6709
St. Peter ..	401	401	12	6	963	1235	2198
Grand Totals	2319	2309	151	12	5402	6291	11693

Summary of the Population Returns, taken Monday, April 8, 1861.

Parishes.	Number of Separate Occupiers	Number of Houses.			Number of Persons who abode therein on the night of Sunday, April 7th.		
		Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Building.	Males.	Females.	Total.
St. Cuthbert	205	183	16	6	369	418	787
St. John ..	102	93	4	—	216	249	465
St. Mary ..	397	362	27	1	854	1015	1869
St. Paul....	1691	1541	88	9	3462	3947	7409
St. Peter ..	619	575	21	8	1322	1560	2882
Grand Totals	3014	2754	156	24	6223	7189	13412

Municipal Divisions, 1861.

Wards.	Number of Houses.	Number of Persons.
Eastern	1447	6725
Western ..	1487	6687
Total....	2934	13412

Ecclesiastical Division of St. Paul's Parish, 1861.

Districts.	Number of Houses.	Number of Persons.
St. Paul....	954	4365
Holy Trinity	684	3044
Total	1638	7409

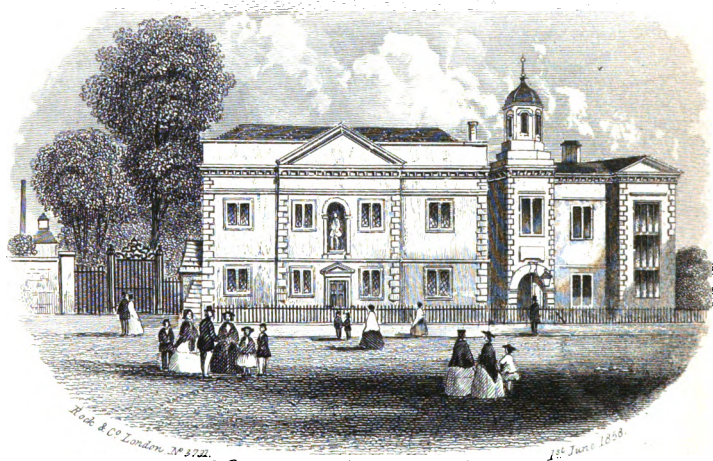
OUR WALK WITH THE VISITOR

THROUGH THE TOWN, POINTING OUT TO HIM ITS PUBLIC BUILDINGS, AND CHIEF OBJECTS OF INTEREST.

As the visitor's approach to Bedford is generally by the Midland Railway, we shall make this Railway Station our starting point. Supposing, then, the visitor to have safely arrived in Bedford, we propose to guide him or her as far as possible, by a consecutive route, to all that is worth seeing; for this purpose our most convenient direction will be to take Well Street.



Commercial School. Bedford.



Grammar School. Bedford.

Having passed to the top of this street, we turn to the right to enter Lower Harpur Street. The eye is immediately attracted by the very handsome set of buildings, lining the whole of one side of this street, and also the west side of St. Paul's Square, known as

The Bedford Schools.

Disinterested and competent judges have, in innumerable instances, both publicly and privately, declared that the extensive, wealthy, and distinguished Schools of Bedford are "second to none" in the kingdom. 'Tis true that the Noble Schools and Charitable Institutions of this ancient, pleasant, and healthy borough and market town, are not so generally known as those of certain other towns, but it is equally true that thousands of families have from time to time been attracted by the advantages arising from the great public endowments which Bedford possesses, especially from the great benefits and economy in education which the noble and celebrated Harpur Schools afford. Without attempting to either prove or disprove the truth of the statement about their being "*second to none*, in the kingdom," and without comparing them with other great educational institutions, we propose to lay before the reader an account of the rise, progress, and present condition of a Foundation, the annual expenditure of which amounts to about £16,000.

But before proceeding to speak of the *Foundation*, we must offer a few remarks respecting the life and character of the *Founder*, Sir William Harpur, who was perhaps the greatest benefactor to the town of Bedford, and who was not only an honour and an ornament to this town, in which he was born, but also to his country; and whose humble origin only reflects a greater degree of brilliancy on his surprising abilities.

He appears to have been born in Bedford in the year 1496. Nothing seems to be known concerning his parents, except that his father's name was William Harpur, and that he was a man in very humble circumstances. The education which young William received was probably most insignificant, for he was sent at a very early age to London, in order that he might learn the business of a tailor. His industrious, persevering, and careful habits, and his obliging and well-bred behaviour soon won for him the esteem and the friendship of those by whom he was surrounded: he acquired a considerable fortune, attained a high position in society, and became one of the chief officers of the Merchant Taylors' Company. Stow informs us that the first license granted to this fraternity was in 28 Edward I. But the Company, which was one of the most wealthy of the London guilds, was regularly incorporated in 5 Edward IV., in the year 1466. The patron saint was John the Baptist.

Henry Machyn, also a "marchand-tayller" of that guild, in his Diary published by the Camden Society, states that "the 29 day of August [1555] was the day of Decolacyon of sant John Baptist, the Marchand-tayllers kept masse at Sant Johnes beyond Smyt-feld, and my lord of sant Johnes dyd offer at

masse, and ser Hare Hubylethorne, ser Thomas Whytt and master Harper, althermen, and all the clothyng. And after the iiij wardens of the yeomanry, and all the compene of the tayllers, at 1d. a pesse; and the qwyre hong with cloth of arres, and after masse to the Tayllers' halle to dener." The hall alluded to by this writer, gave to the street in which it was built, the name of Threadneedle Street; in contained large windows, in which were depicted in colours several scenes from the life of St. John, the patron of the fraternity. This splendid old hall contained the only portrait known to have been taken of Sir William Harpur, which was painted for the Merchant Taylor's Company. Both the hall and the portrait were destroyed in the year 1666, in the Great Fire of London.

In another entry in his Diary, bearing the date of June 15, 1556, the above-mentioned writer, after relating some other occurrence which took place on that day, says, "The same day was the Grosers' fest, and master Harper, altherman, marchandtayller, was chosen shreyff."

About five years after this time, Sir William was elected Lord Mayor of London. We are indebted to Machyn for the following singular description of the appointment: he writes, "In 1561 on the xxix day of September was nuw mayre electyd master Harper, marchand-tayller, on Myghellmas day. The xxx day of September my lord mayre and the althermen and the new shryeffes toke ther barges at the iij cranes in the Vintre,* and so to Westminster, and so into the Cheker, and ther toke ther hoythe; and ser Rowland Hyll a choppyng kneiff and one did hold a whyt rod, and he with the kneiff cuted the rod in sunder a-for all the pepul; and after to London to ther plases to dener, my lord mayre and all the althermen and money worshipfulle men." He also states that "on the xxix day of October nuw mare toke ys barge to-ward Westminster my nuw lord mare master Harper, with the althermen in their skarlett, and all the craftes of London in their levere, and ther barges with ther baners and ther stremars of evere occupacyon's armes; and ther was a goodly foist mad with stremars, targatts, and banars, and [armes] and grett shutyng of gunes and trumpettes blotyng; and at xij of the cloke my lord mare and the althermen landyd at Powlles warffe, and so to Powlles chyrcheyarde, and ther met ym a pagantt gorgiously mad, with chylderyn, with dyvers instrumentes playng and syngyng; and afternon to Powlles with trumpetes, and ther wher—men in bluw saten slevys, and with targettes and shyldes of armes." The year of Sir Wm. Harpur's mayoralty is distinguished in the city annals by only one remarkable event; namely, the burning of the spire and roof of the fine old cathedral of St. Paul, which took place on the 4th of June. It was generally believed that this fire was occasioned by lightning, several vivid flashes having been seen in the city about that time;

* "The Three Cranes in the Vintry," or, according to Hayward, "The Three Craynes in the Vine-tree" was the name of a wharf set apart for the landing of wines, the cranes being the machines used for that purpose. Vide Pennant's London, p. 466, edit. 1813—John Bruce, Esq., F. S. A.

some, however, rumoured it about that the cathedral had been set on fire by some evil-disposed person or persons.

Sir John Hayward, Knt., D. C. L., has left the following account of this fire in his "Annals of the First Four Years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth:—" "Upon the fourth of June 1561 in the afternoone, the steeple of Paules, in London, was fired by lightening. The fire was seene to breake forth about two or three yarges beneath the foote of the Crosse, not much greater in appearance then the flame of a candle, from whence it burned downward, and in short tyme imbraced the whole spire of the steeple, and all the roffes of the church. This fire was the more terrible, by reasone it was in a conspicuous place, and threatned danger unto many, and was altogether unapproacheable for remedy, as well in regard of the height of the church as of the falling downe of the moulten lead. The flames flew over many partes of the city; sparkes, and small coales, were cast soe farr as the conduite in Fleete streete; the channelles about the church wer stopped, and the streetes seemed to be paved with leade. The people, being strooke, with amazement, filled all places with tumult and confusione, expecting a generall calamity of the city, and, thereuppon, buysying themselves to remove such goodes out of ther howses as they wer most desirous to save. The fury of the fire was soe greate, that within the space of fowre houres, it burned downe the spire and the steeple and all the roofes of the church. The timber worke was consumed, the leade moulten, the belles cast downe, which made a hideous noyse in the fall; the stone work, alsoe, especially towardes the topp, was sore shaken and weakened with the force of the fire. And herein wer two things especially admired and observed by some; one was, the sodayne increase of the fire, for that it was noe sooner begunne, but forthwith it was at the highest; the other was, that, as if it had beene destined onely for the ruine of that place, it beganne at the topp of the spire of the steeple, and from thence fastened uppon every part of the roofes of the church, and yet fell not from the roofes (where the fire did most rage) uppon any of the buildings underneath. Hereuppon strange conjectures wer conceived, as of secret causes, soe of vayne events, which did never ensue."

Historians tell us that the spire of this cathedral was one of the loftiest in the world; being, with the central tower on which it rested, 520 feet in height. The conduct of the Lord Mayor is spoken of in terms of approbation, in a contemporary description of the occurrence: he appears to have been very active (as his position required) with the aldermen, and in concert with the Bishop of London and others, in endeavouring in every possible manner, to suppress the fire and prevent disturbances.

"Immediately uppon this misadventure, the Queen directed her letteres to the Lord Mayor and citizens of London to take speedy order for the repaying of thes harmes; and, for ther better encouragement, shee delivered forthwith one thousand markes in gould toward the charge, and a warrant for one thousand loades of timber, to be taken out of her woodes or parkes wheresoever.

The citizeness of London granted a benevolence, and three fifteenes, to be presently payd. The clergie of the province of Canterbury granted the fortieth part of the yearly valew of thos benefices which payd first frutes, and of those which payd noe first frutes, the thirtieth part. The clergie of the diocese of London granted the thirtieth part of the yearly valew of such benefices as were not charged with first frutes, and the twentieth part of thos that were charged. All this, being collected together, with many other voluntary contributions besides, amounted to the sum of 5,968*l*. 16*s*. 1*d*. ob. Two of the clergie of the church, of St. Paule, and sixe citizeness of London, wer appoynted to oversee and sett forward the worke, who used such diligence in ther charge, that within one month after the firing of the church, all the fower greates roofes wer covered with a sleight rooffe of boordes and leade, onely to preserve the walles, floores, and vaultes, from the enjurie of the rayne. And before the yeasare was expired, all the long roofes wer rayseed of new and strong timber, the most part whereof was framed in Yorkshire, and by sea conveyed to London; the charges of which worke amounted to the summe of 5,982*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. ob.

Soe the receites wer fully expended; and yett the two crosserooffes, which stand north and south, were not finished, but remayned still covered with boordes untill the yeare 1564. At which tyme they wer rayseed and perfected at the onely charge of Edmund Grindall, then Bishopp of London, whos expended, out of his proper estate, 720*l*. in finishing that worke."

Sir William Harpur was twice married. Some persons maintain that his first wife, Dame Alice, was the daughter of Cæsar Aldemare, doctor of medicine of the university of Padua, a member of a distinguished family at Treviso, twelve miles from Venice, and the father of Sir Julius Cæsar, the eminent Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, Master of the Rolls, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Privy Councillor, in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. He came to England in 1550, and practised largely in London for some time: he was then appointed a physician to Queen Mary; and in the following reign was at the head of the medical department at Court. "However his skill might have been esteemed at Court, we do not find that he experienced any extraordinary degree of liberality from either of the Princesses whom he served. The rewards that we meet with, were in church lands."—Lodge's Life of Sir Julius Cæsar. We learn from a recent writer that "the property alluded to, conveyed to Sir William Harper, is supposed to have been a portion of the estates he so obtained." "It has been stated," he continues, "that Dame Alice was a daughter of Dr. Aldemare, and that he gave her and her husband the land 'out of natural love and affection.' In the absence of the Deed itself (for we can only find an entry of it in the Charity Schedule) we cannot say what the conditions were which moved the Doctor to convey; but it is quite certain Dame Alice was not his daughter. He had three daughters named Margaret, Elizabeth, and Anne, and they were married to Nicholas Wright, Mr. Hunt, and Mr. Pecke. It is probable, however, that she was related to him, for the name of Alice was a favourite one in the family, and it

appears in the pedigree several times subsequently." This lady, like her husband, was kind, affectionate, and noble-hearted: she died a few years after the execution of the Deed of Gift, and was buried in the tomb in Saint Paul's Church, in this town.

Sir William's second wife, Dame Margaret, was a native of Bedford, but of a very different disposition from his former partner; for her conduct towards the Merchant Taylor's Company after her husband's death, proves her to have been obstinate, selfish, and even unjust.

In 1573, Sir William Harpur was called out of time into eternity. His remains were taken to Bedford, and deposited (in accordance with his dying request) in the chancel of St. Paul's Church, where his widow, Dame Margaret, was afterwards buried. Below the effigies is the following inscription:—"Obiit 27^o die Februario 1573. Ano ætatis sue 77^o. Hereunder lieth buried the body of Sir William Harpur, Knight, Alderman, and late Lord Maior of the citie of London with Dame Margaret his last wife wch. Sir William was borne in this towne of Bedford, and here fonded and gave land for the mayntenance of a Gramer Schoole."

That Sir William lived and died a member of the Church of Rome, we think that there cannot be the least doubt. Was he not born in the reign of Henry VII? Did he not live through Henry VIII.'s reign? And was he not elected High Sheriff of London, immediately after the bloodiest year in the reign of Bloody Queen Mary, the Papist? Or, in other words, did he not live in those times when that of the Church of Rome was the "Catholic" faith? Such being the case, is it not more probable that he was educated according to the tenets of the Roman Catholics, than that he was brought up and educated in the Protestant faith? Again, in the diary of Henry Machyn, there are several entries (to one of which we have already referred) relating to his having attended mass. But the most convincing proof which we have that Sir William Harpur was a Papist, is, that during the time he held the office of High Sheriff, thirteen Protestant martyrs, consisting of eleven men and two women, were burnt alive at Stratford-le-Bow, near London, he being present to see the sentence carried into execution. The names of these victims of Mary's bigoted rage were as follows:—

HENRY WYE,
WILLIAM HOLLYWELL,
RALPH JACKSON,
LAURENCE PERN,
JOHN DERIFALL,
THOMAS BOWYER,
GEORGE SEARLS,

LYON COUCH,
HENRY ADLINTON,
JOHN ROUTH,
EDMUND HURST,
ELIZABETH PEPER,
AND
AGNES GEORGE.

It appears, that these thirteen persons were apprehended in the various places where they resided, the major part of them being inhabitants of the

County of Essex ; and, that they were sent, at different times, up to London, in order that they might be examined by Bishop Bonner, concerning their religious principles. They were all brought together, on the 6th of June, 1556, before Dr. Darbyshire, the Bishop's Chancellor, who, in form of law, administered to them the following articles :—

1.—“That there is on earth a Catholic Church, wherein the religion of Christ is truly professed.” To this they all answered in the affirmative ; but added, that they believed the true faith of Christ was wherever the word of God was truly preached.

2.—“That there were seven sacraments.” They all answered in the negative ; some of them affirmed that in the church of Christ there were only two sacraments, viz. : baptism and the Lord's supper : many of them desired to believe as the scriptures taught them ; while others refused to reply, not properly understanding these points.

3.—“That they were all baptized in the faith of the Catholic Church, professing, by their godfathers, &c., the religion of Christ and to renounce the devil and all his works, &c.” Without exception they all assented to this.

4.—“That when they came to years of discretion, they did not depart from the said profession and faith, and did not disprove any part thereof for several years.” Most of them replied in the affirmative. One of the women added, that in the days of King Edward VI. she departed from her old faith and religion, and embraced the gospel of Christ, as it was then taught and set forth.

5.—“That of late they had swerved from their former Catholic faith, and had spoken against the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and authority of the Papal see.” Upon the whole, they confessed this to be true. One man observed that the mass was of such a nature, that he could not, in his own conscience, believe it to be authorized from God ; and another declared, that for nine or ten years past he could not approve the mass, nor the sacrament of the altar, because they could not be proved from the scripture of the truth ; he likewise affirmed, that at the age of fourteen he had taken an oath against the authority of the Papal see, and would, by the grace of God, abide firmly by the same.

6.—“That they refused to be reconciled to the unity of the church, or to confess the lawfulness of the Papal see.” With the exception of two, they all answered in the affirmative to this article. Those who refused, stated that they did not understand the import of the same. The two women added, they refused to be reconciled to the faith and religion that were then practised in the realm of England, though they never refused to be reconciled and brought to the unity of the Catholic church of Christ.

7.—“That disproving the service of the church, they refused to come to their parish churches, denied the bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament,

called the mass an abomination, &c." This was answered in general in the affirmative; but one denied that he called the mass an abomination or an idol; while another, though he granted the article, confessed his infirmity, that he went to his parish school, and received it before he was put in prison.

8.—This article related to their being brought before the commissioners, and by them sent to the bishop of London; to which they answered in the following order: Edmund Hurst, Ralph Jackson, and George Searls answered in the affirmative. Henry Wye stated that he had been brought before several justices of the peace in Essex, concerning one Highted, his late master, and thereupon committed to Colchester Castle, and from thence sent to London for further examination. William Hollywell made the like confession, excepting the circumstance of Highted. John Derifall said, he was called before Lord Rich and Mr. Mildmay, of Chelmsford, and by them sent to the bishop of London to be further examined. Thomas Bowyer said, he was brought before one Mr. Wiseman, of Falstead, and by him sent to Colchester Castle, and from thence to the bishop of London for further examination. Lyon Couch declared that he was three times brought before the king and queen's commissioners, and by them sent to the bishop of London. Henry Adlinton said, that coming to Newgate to speak with one Gratwick, prisoner there for the testimony of Jesus Christ, he was apprehended and brought before Dr. Story, and by him sent to the bishop of London. Agnes George stated, that she was committed to prison in Colchester by Mr. Maynard, alderman of the town, for refusing to attend church, and by him sent to the bishop of London. Elizabeth Peper said, that she was apprehended by two constables and an alderman, for refusing to go to church, and by them sent to the bishop of London for further examination.

9.—“That they believed the promises to be true, as confessed above, and that they were of the diocese of London.” To this they generally agreed. Elizabeth Peper added, she was of the town of Colchester; and Agnes George said, she was of the parish of Barefold.

After these thirteen persons had been examined by the bishop of London's chancellor, in open court, sentence of condemnation was pronounced against them, as they persisted in their answers, and refused to recant, or be reconciled to the Church of Rome. Being delivered over to the secular power, they were all sent to Newgate. There were three other individuals likewise condemned to die at the same time, but it seems that before the day appointed for their execution had arrived, a reprieve was sent them by Cardinal Poole.

Dr. Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, it appears, told his audience in a sermon which he delivered at St. Paul's Cross, on the Sunday following the final examination and condemnation of these pious Christians, that they held as many tenets as there were faces among the whole; which being represented to them, they drew up the following confession of their faith, to which they respectively signed their names:—

“Unto all our dearly beloved friends, and the holy congregation of Jesus Christ, even so many as love God, grace be with you, and peace from God our Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ. So be it.

“Be it manifest to all by whom this our certificate shall be seen, that where upon Saturday, being the thirteenth day of June, at Fulham, before the bishop of London, sixteen of us, whose names hereunder are subscribed, were condemned to die for the most pure and sincere truth of Christ's truth; which most godly truth hath been from the beginning by the wicked adversaries thereof continually defaced, and is, by the devil and his agents, even at this present likewise daily slandered. Upon this occasion, dearly beloved brethren, we are moved, yea, constrained, in the ears of all men to manifest our belief, and also briefly the articles whereof we are condemned for the avoiding of false reports and slanderous tongues, which might happen, by the most ungodly and uncharitable sermon lately preached at St. Paul's Cross, on the fourteenth of the said month, being Sunday, by Master Feckman, now dean of the same church; where he in that most worthy audience, defamed us to be in sixteen sundry opinions which were a thing prejudicial to all christian truth, and for a testimonial thereof this herunder written shall answer our cause, and therefore we pray you that are of God to judge.

“First, we believe we were baptized in the faith of Christ's church, and incorporate unto him, and made members of his church; in which faith we continue. And although we have erred for a certain time, yet the root of faith was preserved in us by the Holy Ghost, who hath reduced us into a full certainty of the same, and we do persist, and will, by God's assistance, to the end. Now mark, that although the minister were of the malignant church, yet his wickedness did not hurt us, for he baptised us in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

“There was both the word and element of our godfathers and godmothers renouncing for us the devil and all his works, and confessing the articles of christian faith for us, and also witnesses that we are baptised, not in the faith of the church of Rome, but in the faith Christ's church.

“1.—There are but two sacraments in Christ's church, that is the, the sacrament of baptism and the Lord's supper. For in these are contained the faith of Christ his church; that is, the two testaments, the law and the gospel. The effect of the law is repentance, and the effect of the gospel remission of sins.

“2.—We believe there is a visible church, wherein the word of God is preached, and the holy sacraments truly administered, visible to the world, although it be not credited, and by the death of saints confirmed, as it was in the time of Elias the prophet, as well as now.

- "3.—The see of Rome is the see of Anti-Christ, the congregation of the wicked, &c., whereof the Pope is the head under the devil.
- "4.—The mass in not only a profanation of the Lord's supper, but also a blasphemous idol.
- "5.—God is neither spiritually or corporeally in the sacrament of the altar, and there remaineth no substance in the same, but only the substance of bread and wine.
- "For these the articles of our belief, we being condemned to die, do willingly offer our corruptible bodies to be dissolved in the fire, all with one voice assenting and consenting thereunto, and in no point dissenting or disagreeing from any of our former articles."
- "Apparent also let it be and known, that being examined of the former articles before the bloody bishop, the said day and time, we affirmed to believe all that he or they would approve by the scripture. But he said that he would not stand to prove it with heretics, but said they themselves were the holy church, and that we ought to believe them, or else to be cut off like withered branches.

"Signed,

*Ralph Jackson,
Henry Adlington,
Lyon Carech,
William Halliwell,
George Searles,
John Routh,
John Derifall,
Henry Wye,*

*Edmund Hurst,
Laurence Parnam,
Thomas Bowyer,
Elizabeth Pepper,
Agnes George,
Thomas Freeman,
William Stannard,
William Adams.*

At an early hour, on the morning of the 27th of June, 1556, the day appointed for their execution, they were conducted from Newgate to Stratford-le-Bow, the place allotted for these Protestant martyrs to confirm that faith which they had professed, and to which they had so strenuously adhered. When they had reached this place, the sheriff, Sir William Harpur, endeavoured by means of a stratagem, to win them over to the Romish faith. He divided them into two companies, and placed them in separate chambers. Soon after this he visited one company, and told them that the other had recanted, and that their lives would therefore be saved; he then exhorted them to do the like—to follow their example, and not to cast themselves away by their own obstinacy. But the scheme failed in its effects, for they informed Sir William that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ crucified.

Sir William, finding that it was utterly impossible to get these to recant, went to the other company, and had recourse to the very same means with

these, admonishing them to recant like wise men, and persuading them not to wilfully kill themselves. or be guilty of destroying their own lives by their bigotry and prejudice. But they replied to the same effect as their brethren had done before, declaring that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ, and his infallible word. After that his project had failed, and (to use the words of John Foxe, in his Book of Martyrs) "when he saw it bootied not to persuade (for they were, God be praised, surely grounded on the Rock, Jesus Christ) he then led them to the place where they should suffer: and being all there together, most earnestly they prayed unto God, and joyfully went to the stake, and kissed it, and embraced it heartily."* Another writer, describing the event, states that "after praying in the most fervent manner, they prepared themselves for their fate. Then these thirteen stedfast believers in Christ were chained to different stakes, but all burnt together in one fire, shewing such love to each other, and firm faith in their Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, that the concourse of spectators, assembled on the occasion, were astonished at the undaunted behaviour of so many poor innocents, thus patiently enduring the acutest torments, rather than comply with the errors and superstitions of the Church of Rome."

For the further support of my argument that Sir William Harpur in all probability lived and died a member of the Church of Rome, allow me to lay before you an extract from a pamphlet, published in this town many years since, entitled "The Bedford Charity not Sectarian." The author says, "It may be asked, does not the fact that Sir William Harpur was Lord Mayor of London in the reign of Elizabeth prove that he was a Protestant after the fashion of Elizabeth's days, and what that was, you may learn from the fact, that she herself for many years, had a crucifix with candles burning before her in her private chapel, and on one occasion openly rebuked a clergyman in the midst of his sermon for combating the doctrine of the Divine presence: but it is doubtful whether Sir William was obliged to be even a nominal Protestant, for I find that so lately as 1592, the bishops had strict charge not to tender the oath of supremacy but in cases of necessity, and never to press it a second time without the special direction of the archbishop.† The conclusion then, that we must come to, is this: that we have the most irrefragable evidence that in Mary's reign Sir William Harpur was a Papist, and, that we have no satisfactory evidence at all that he ever afterwards became a Protestant. History, then, makes Sir William Harpur a Papist, most likely he was an honest one; and perhaps fulfilled the prophecy of our Lord, and verily thought

* The eleven men were tied to three stakes, but the two women were loose in the midst, without any stake, and so they were all burnt in one fire, with such love to each other, and constancy in our Saviour Christ that it made all the lookers on to marvel. In the company of these thirteen, were three more condemned to; who answered to the articles that were propounded to the thirteen, in effect as they did. And being thus in the hands of the secular power Cardinal Poole sent his dispensation for their lives, by means of which they then escaped. Extract from "Foxe's Acts and Monuments of the Church" Edited by the Rev. M. H. Seymour, M.A., page 921, book xi., A.D. 1556.

† Neale's History of the Puritans.

he was doing God's service whilst he presided at the burning of his fellow-creatures; he deserves, therefore, our Christian pity as much as our blame. It is almost certain that he was educated as a Papist, and we know how hard it is to get rid of the bent and bias of early training. What he did as a Papist, he did honestly, though ignorantly, and there is always something to respect in an honest man even in error, however dangerous his errors may be."

Sir William Harpur reminds one much of the apostle Paul, who, in speaking to Agrippa (*vide* The Act of the Apostles, ch. xxvi. vs. 9. & 10) said, "I verily thought with myself that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth. Which thing I also did in Jerusalem: and many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority of the chief priests; and when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them."

We regret, however, that no account of the last moments of this eminent man, and not even the cause of his death, have been handed down to us. The scanty biographical notices or historical memoranda, which we possess, relating to him, lead us to adopt the language of Talfourd, and exclaim:—

"So his life has flow'd
From its mysterious urn a sacred stream,
In whose calm depth the beautiful and pure
Alone are mirror'd; which, though shapes of ill
May hover round its surface, glides in light,
And takes no shadow from them."

Benevolent, persevering, intelligent, and useful, as Sir William Harpur, the Founder of the Bedford Charity, is said to have been during his lifetime, his name would long since have been forgotten, had he not founded the Bedford Grammar School. By this, and the very handsome range of school-buildings which have since been erected, he has been endeared, and his fame has become imperishable.

"Could but the Founder, from his silent tomb,
Burst through the barriers of sepulchral gloom,
Harpur the great, the generous, and the good,
With all the faculties of life endued,
And see, as once he saw with prophet's eye,
The dawn of learning and of liberty,
And mark what fair and goodly structures grace,
Adorn and beautify his native place;
Methinks his soul would thrill with joy to see
How cherished still abides his memory."

It was in the 6th year of Edward VI.'s reign (1557), that "the Mayor, Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty of the town of Bedford," finding that certain towns had received grants of Free Schools, petitioned the King for license to erect and establish a free and perpetual Grammar School in their town. The King readily complied with their request and granted, by the 'Letters Patent,' bearing the date of August 15th the license desired.

THE LETTERS PATENT OF EDWARD VI.

GRANTING LICENSE FOR THE FOUNDATION OF THE HARPUR CHARITIES.

We are indebted to Mr. Hankin for the following copy of the original Letters Patent.

(PAT: 6 Edw: 6 P 8)

Sci Omnibus ad quos &c. Salutem *SCIATIS* quod nos ad humilem petitionem Majoris Ballivorum Burgencium et Communitatis Ville nostre Bedfordie nobis pro Libera et Perpetua Schola ibidem erigenda et stabilienda exhibitam pro institutione et instructione Puerorum et Juvenum De gracia nostra speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris necnon de advisamento Consilii nostri Concessimus et Licenciam Dedimus Ac per Presentes Concedimus et Licenciam Damus pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris quantum in nobis est dictis Majori Ballivis Burgensibus et Communitati dicte Ville nostre Bedfordie et successoribus suis Quod ipsi aut successores sui quandam Liberam et Perpetuam Scholam Grammaticalem in Villa nostra predicta erigere facere fundare et stabilire possint et valeant pro educacione institutione et instructione Puerorum et Juvenum in Grammatica Literatura et Bonis moribus perpetuis temporibus futuram duraturam Ac Schola illa fore de uno magistro sive Pedagogo et uno Subpedagogo sive Ypodidasculo pro perpetuo continuare Et ut dicta intencio predictorum Majoris Ballivorum Burgencium et Communitatis Ville predictae meliorem capeat effectum de uberiori gracia nostra Concessimus et Licenciam Dedimus Ac per presentes Concedimus et Licenciam Damus pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris predictis quantum in nobis est predictis Majori Ballivis Burgensibus et Communitati Ville nostre predictae quod ipsi aut successores sui Domina Maneria Terras Tenementa Redditus Reversiones Revenciones Servicia et Hereditamenta quecumque et alias Possessiones quascumque ad annum valorem quadraginta librarum ultra omnia Onera et reprisas ex dono concessione legacione demissione vel assignacione cujuscumque parsonis sive personarum quarumcumque ea eis dare concedere legare vel assignare volentis vel volencium licet Domina Maneria Terre et Tenementa illa de nobis in Capite vel aliter mediate vel immediate teneantur aut de aliis parsonis sive alia parsona teneantur habere gaudere percipere acquirere perquirere et recipere possint et valeant Habenda et tenenda eisdem Majori Ballivis Burgensibus et Communitati Ville predictae et successoribus suis in et ad sustentacionem predicti Magistri sive Pedagogi et Subpedagogi sive Hypodidasculi et pro Continuacione Schole predictae imperpetuum pro Pauperibus Virginibus Velle predictae maritandis ac pro Pauperibus Pueris ibidem nutriendis et informandis Ac eciam ad Flemosinam de residuosive superfluitate Premissorum perveniente remanente Pauperibus Ville predictae pro tempore existentibus distribuendam Ac eciam Concessimus et

Licenciam Dedimus ac per Presentes Concedimus et Licenceam Damus pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris de avisamento et assensu predictis quod Gardianus sive Custos Collegii Beate Marie Wintonie in Oxonia vulgariter nuncupati Novi Collegii Oxonie et Socii ejusdem pro tempore vel eorum major pars pro tempore existentium de tempore in tempus cum necesse fuerit vel justa occasio postulabit per eorum discreciones dictum Magistrum sive Pedagogum aut dictum Subpedagogum sive Hypodidasculum Schole predictæ in Villa predicta nominare eligere et admittere possint vel possit ac pro bonis justis et rationabilibus causis et occasionibus illos de tempore in tempus mutare et removere aliosque habiles et idoneos homines in dicta loca sive officia Magistri sive Pedagogi ac Subpedagogi sive Hipodidasculi Schole predictæ nominare eligere et admittere possint et valeant possit et valeat Et Eidem persone sive parsonis quod ipsa vel ipse Dominia Meneria Terras Tenementa Redditus Reversiones Reversiones Servicia et Hereditamenta predicta ad annum valorem predictum prefatis Majori Ballivis Burgensibus et Communitati Ville predictæ pro tempore existentibus dare concedere legare vel assignare possit aut possint Habenda sibi et successoribus suis sicut predictum est tenore Presencium Similiter Licenciam Dedimus ac Damus specialem absque impedimento impetitione seu gravamine nostrorum vel heredum aut successorum nostrorum Justiciarum Escaetorum Vicecomitum Coronatorum Ballivorum seu aliorum Ministrorum nostrorum vel heredum nostrorum aut aliorum quorumcumque et absque aliquibus aliis Litteris Regiis Patentibus aut aliquibus Inquisitionibus super aliquo Brevis de Ad quod dampnum vel aliquo alio Mandato Regio in hac parte quovismodo habendis proseguendis seu capiendis Statuto de Terris et Tenementis ad Manum Mortuam non ponendis vel extendendis aut portandis aut aliquo alio Statuto Actu sive Ordinatione inde in contrarium factis editis sive ordinatis aut aliqua Concessione vel aliquibus Concessionibus prefatis Majori Ballivis Burgensibus et Communitati Ville predictæ per nos vel aliquem progenitorum nostrorum ante hac tempora factis in Presentibus minime factis existentibus aut aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacumque in aliquo non obstantibus Et hoc absque aliquo fine seu feodo nobis Premissis seu aliquo Premissorum in Hanaperio nostro seu alibi reddendo solvendo vel faciundo Eo quod expressa mencio &c. IN CUJUS rei &c. TESTE REGE: apud Ely XV die Augusti.

PER BREVE de PRIVATO SIGILLO &c.

TRANSLATION OF THE LETTERS PATENT.

THE KING to all to whom, &c., Greeting. KNOW YE that We, on the humble Petition of the Mayor, Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty of the Town of Bedford, to us made, for erecting and establishing a free and perpetual School there, for the institution and instruction of Boys and Youths, of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion; also, by the

advice of our Council, Have granted and given licence, and by these presents, Do grant and give licence, for us, our heirs and Successors, as far as in us lies, to the said Mayor, Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty of our said Town of Bedford, and their Successors, That they or their Successors may and shall erect, make, found, and establish a free and perpetual Grammar School in our aforesaid Town, for the education, institution, and instruction of Boys and Youths in Grammar, Literature, and good Manners, to endure at all times for ever. And the same School to be and consist of one Master and one Usher, to continue for ever. And that the said intention of the aforesaid Mayor, Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty of the aforesaid Town may take better effect, of our more abundant grace, we have granted and given Licence, and by these presents Do grant and give Licence, for us, our Heirs and Successors aforesaid, as far as in us lies, to the aforesaid Mayor, Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty of our aforesaid Town, that they, or their Successors, may and shall have, enjoy, perceive, acquire, purchase, and receive Lordships, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Revenues, Services, and Hereditaments whatsoever, and other possessions whatsoever, to the annual value of £40, above all charges and reprises, of the gift, grant, bequest, demise, or assignment of any person or persons whomsoever, willing to give, grant, bequeath, or assign the same to them; although the same Lordships, Manors, Lands, and Tenements be held of us in *Capite* or otherwise, mediately or immediately, or be held of other person or persons, *To have and to hold* to the same Mayor, Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty of the aforesaid Town, and the Successors, in and to the sustentation of the aforesaid Master and Usher, and for the continuance of the aforesaid School, for ever; for marrying poor maidens of the said Town, and for nourishing and educating poor Boys of that place, and also for distributing alms of the remainder or surplus of the premises accruing and remaining to the poor of the aforesaid Town, for the time being. And also We Have granted and given licence, and by these presents Do grant and give licence, for us, our Heirs and Successors, by the advice and assent aforesaid, That the Warden or Keeper of the College of the Blessed Mary Winton, in Oxford, commonly called New College, Oxford, and the Fellows of the same for the time, or the major part of them for the time being, from time to time, when there shall be necessity or just occasion shall require, by their discretion may nominate, elect, and admit the said Master or said Usher of the aforesaid School in the aforesaid Town, and for good, just, and reasonable causes and occasions, may and shall change and remove them from time to time, and nominate, elect, and admit other fit and proper men into the said places or offices of Master or Usher of the aforesaid School. And to the same person or persons that he or they may give, grant, bequeath, or assign Lordships, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Revenues, Reversions, Services, and Hereditaments, to the annual value aforesaid, to the aforesaid Mayor, Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty of the aforesaid Town for the time being, to be holden by them and their Successors as is aforesaid by the tenor of these presents. In like manner We Have given and Do give special Licence without hindrance, impeachment, or trouble of us or our Heirs or Successors, of the Justices, Escheator, Sheriffs, Coroners, Bailiffs, or other ministers of us or

our Heirs, or of any other person whatsoever, and without any other Royal Letters Patent, or any Inquisitions upon any Writ of *Ad quod Damnum*, or any other royal mandate on this part in any way to be had, prosecuted or taken; the *Statute of mortmain* or any other Statute, Act or Ordination thence to the contrary made, published or ordained, or any Grant or Grants to the aforesaid Mayor, Bailiffs, Burgesses and Commonalty of the aforesaid Town, by us or any of our Predecessors before these times made, in these presents not made or being, or any other thing, cause or matter whatever in any wise notwithstanding. And this without any fine or fee to us for the Premises or any of the Premises to be rendered, paid or done in our Hanaper or elsewhere. To the end that express mention &c. In witness whereof, &c. WITNESS THE KING, at Ely, the fifteenth day of August.

BY WRIT of PRIVY SEAL. &c.

But it was not until the 8th year of Queen Elizabeth's reign (1566), that the first steps were taken to carry out the provisions of the Letters Patent, when Sir William Harpur, Knight, who was at that time Alderman of the City of London, and Dame Alice, his wife, founded a free school in Bedford, and conveyed it by 'The Deed of Gift' to the Mayor and Corporation of the Borough. The Indenture, (styled the "Deed of Gift") is worded as follows:

[N.B. For the following copy of the Deed of Gift, we have to acknowledge the kindness of the Clerk of the Trustees.]

THIS INDENTURE made the too and twentyth days of Aprell in the eighthe yere of the raygne of our soveraygne Ladye Elizabeth by the grace of god of England Ffrance and Ireland quene defender of the faythe xc. Betwene the Mayre Baylyfes Burgesses and comonaltye of the towne of Bedford in the countye of Bedford on thone partye And *Syr wylliam Harpur* knyghte Alderman of the citeye of London and dame Alyce his wyffe on the other partye Wytnessethe thatt whereas our late soveraygne Lord kynge Edward the syxte by his graces letters pattentes seald wythe the greate scale of England bearynge date at Eley the fyftene daye of August in the syxth yere of his raygne att the humble petycion of the sayd Mayre Baylyeffes Burgesses and comonaltye of the sayd towne of Bedford to him made ffor the erectynge and establisshinge of a ffree and parpetuall schole there ffor the erudycion and instruccion of chylidren and youthe of his especyall grace certayne knowledge and mere mocion and by the advyse of his counsaile dyd grannte and gove lycence ffor him his heyres and successors as muche as in hym was to the sayd Mayre Baylyfes Burgeses and comonaltye of the sayd towne of Bedford and their successors thatt they or ther successors myghte and shoulde erecte make grounde and establyshe a ffree and perpetuall scole in the sayd towne of Bedford ffor the educacion instytucion and instruccion of chylidren and youthe in gramer and good manners to endure ffor ever after And the same schole to be of one Master and one ussher ffor ever to contynue. And to the ende the sayd intente of the sayd Mayre Baylyfes Burgeses and comonaltye of the sayd towne of Bedford should take the better effecte the sayd late kynge of his abundant grace by the sayd letters pattentes did graunte and geve lycence ffor him his heyres and successors as muche as in hym was to the said Mayre Baylyfes Burgeses and comonaltye of the sayd towne thatt they or ther successors myghte have enjoye perceave gett purchase and receive lordshyppes Mannors landes tenementes rentes revercions revenues servyces and heredytamentes whatsoever & other possessayons whatsoever thatt wolde geve graunte or assigne the same unto them though the same lordshyppes Mannors landes and tenementes were holden of the sayd late kynge in capite or otherwise medyatlye or ymmedyatlye or of any other parson or parsons whatsoever. To have and to holde to the same

Mayre Baylyfes Burgeses and comonaltye of the said towne of Bedford and ther successors in and to the sustentacion of the sayd Master and ussher and ffor the contynuaunce of the said scole ffor ever ffor the maryage of pore maydes of the sayd towne and for porre chylders ther to be nurrysshed and enformed. And also of the resydue or superfluytye comyngs or remaynyng of the premysses to dystribute in almes to the poore of the sayd towne ffor the tyme beinge And the said late kyng by the sayd letters pattentes dyd geve specyall lycence to the same parson or parsons thatt he or they myghte geve graunte bequethe or assigne lordshyppes Mannors landes tenementes rentes revenues revercions services and heredytamentes aforesayd to the yerelye value aforesayd to the foresayd Mayre Baylyfes Burgeses and comonaltye of the towne aforesayd ffor the tyme beinge to have to them and ther successors as ys aforesayd Accordyng to the tenor of the same letters pattentes wythowte ympedymente ympeachment or grefe of the same late kyng the heyres successors justyces eschetors shryves coroners Baylyfes or other mynsters of the sayd late kyng or of his heyres or of any other whatsoever. And withoute eany other of the kynges letters pattentes or eany other inquisycions uppon eany wrytt of *ad quod dampnum* or eany other precepte of the kyng in thatt behalfe by eany meanes to be had prosecuted or the statute of Mortmayne or eany other statute acte or ordynance thereof to the contrary made setforthe or ordayned or eany graunte or grauntes to the foresayd Mayre Baylyfes Burgyeses and comonaltye of the towne aforesayd by the same late kyng or eany of his progenitors before thatt tyme made and not by the same letters pattentes made or eany other thinge cause or matter whatsoever in eany wise notwythestandynge And thatt withoute eany fyne or fee to the same late kyng to be rendred payd or done for the premysses or eany of the premysses in his hamper or elsewhere As by the same letters pattentes amonge other thinges more playnlye may appere *The sayd Mayre Baylyfes Burgeses and comonaltye ffor and towards the ereccion of the sayd scole to be and to have contynuaunce Accordyng to the forme and effecte of the sayd letters pattentes doe by thes presentes erecte make found and establyshe a free and perpetuall scole within the sayd towne of Bedford in a messuage ther commonly called the free scole house whyche the sayd Syr Wyllyam Harpar of late buylded And the same scole to be of one master and one ussher ffor ever to contynue And the said Mayer Baylyfes Burgeses and comonaltye doe by thes presentes name electe and admyt into the place or offyce of Master of the sayd scole Edmond Grene and into the place or offyce of the ussher of the sayd scole Robert Elbone And also the said indenture dothe further wytnesse thatt the sayd Syr Wyllyam Harpar and dame Alyce ffor and towards the better mayntenance of the sayd schole doe graunte eneffe and assure by thes presentes unto the sayd Mayre Baylyfes Burgyeses and comonaltye of the sayd towne of Bedford all thatt the messuage of the sayd Syr Wyllyam Harpar commonly called the scoole house in the towne of Bedford aforesayd and all the houses backesydes gardens and romes of the same Syr Wyllyam to the same messuage adionynge and now in the tenure or occupacion of the sayd Edmund Grene whereof the sayd Syr Wyllyam standeth seased of eany estate of enherytance And also all those thyrtene acres and one roode of meadow wythe ther appurtenances of the sayd Syr Wyllyam Harpar and dame Alyce lyinge in the parysshes of seynt Androw in Holborne in the countye of Myddl some tyme in the tenure or occupacion of one Peter Peckeham and now or of late in the seizud possessyon or occupacion of the sayd Syr Wyllyam Harpar or of his assignes to the late monastery of charterhouse nere the cytte of London late desolved sometye belongynge or appartaynyng Off whiche thirtene acres and one roode of meadow three acres and three roodes ther together doe lye and doe extende in lengthe from the northe parte or syde of a certayne dyche gardens and houses of the late pryorye and convent of the sayd late Monastery of Charterhouse towards and by the streate of Holborne on the southe parte into the northe parte or syde of a dyche of one crofte of lande called lyttle cundytt shott on the northe parte and in bredthe extend from the weste parte or side of a dyche of lande which once was ene Rycharde Mordon and afterwards of Syr Thomas Tressham knyghte and later of Roger Groue Cytizen and Grocer of London parcell of a certayne tenemente of late called the redd Lyon of the este parte towards the lande of the sayd Peter Peckeham late of John Meklowe of the weste parte lyinge in the hinderpart of a certayne house once called the cock and late called the rose late of the sayd Peter Peckham and sethens of the said John Micklowe And seven acres one roode and half roode of Meadows lykewyse parcell of the sayd thirtene*

acres and one roode of Meadowe doe lye together betwene the sayd landes of the sayd Peter Peckham and sence of the sayd John Mycklow towards the sayd house called the rose of the este parte and other landes late of the sayd Peter Peckham and sence of the sayd John Mycklow of the weste parte and doe extend ffrom the gardens of the sayd late Pryor and covent neygh the rose And a certayne parcell of lande of the same late Pryor and covent in the whiche lately a certayne grange or barne was sett And ffrom a dyche of other gardens late of the sayd Pryorye and covent of the southe parte unto dyche of the same seven acres one roode and half roode of the northe parte And one acre and halfe a roode also parcell of the sayd thirtene acres and one roode of meadow lyethe in the said crofte called the lyttle cundytt shotte extendynge in lengthe from the northe parte or syde of the dyche of grounde lately called Goldbetter's crofte sometyme the sayd Peter Peckhams and sence thatt the sayd John Mycklow on the southe parte or syde of the dyche of the close of the said late pryor and covent on the northe parte and doe extend in bredthe from the este parte or syde of a dyche of a close called Blomesbery felde on the weste parte unto the lande sometyme the sayd Peter Peckhams and sence that time the sayd John Mycklow on the este parte and one acre and a halfe resydue of the sayd thirtene acres and one roode of meadow doe lye in the sayd crofte called the lyttle cundytt shott towards the hinder parte of the sayd house called the rose extendyng in lengthe from the southe parte or syde of the dyche of the sayd close of the sayd late pryor and covent on the northe parte unto the northe parte or side of the dyche of the sayd three acres and half roode of the sayd late Pryor and covent and the lande sometyme of the sayd Peter Peckeham and sence the sayd John Mycklowes lyyng beynd his house aforesayd called the Rose on the southe parte and on the weste parte lye nexte the landes soomtyme the sayd Peters and sence thatt the sayd John Mycklowes And next to one corner of the dyche of the sayd close of the sayd late Pryor and covent extendynge in bredthe from the same landes soomtyme the sayd Peters and sence thatt the sayd John Mycklowes And ffrom the corner aforesayd on the weste parte unto the landes late the sayd John Mycklowes on the weste parte And also all ther ryghte tytyle and intereste in one waye or usuall entrey leadynge ffrom the quenes streate of holborne aforesayd ffrom the southe parte into the sayd seven acres one roode and half roode of meadow nygh the waye aforesayd lyyng betwene a garden and parcell of the landes of the sayd late pryor and covent in the whiche a grange or barne late stode of the este parte and a certayne parcell of lande of the sayd late Pryor and covent in the whiche one Cotage late was scytuate wythe a garden to the same adioynynge of the weste parte and the sayd seven acres one roode and halfe roode of the northe parte *To have and to holde* all the sayd thyrtene acres and one roode of Meadow wythe all and singler ther appurtenances to the said Mayre Balyfes Burgyses and comonaltye of the sayd towne of Bedford and ther successors for and to the sustentation of the Master and ussher of the sayd scoole ffrom tyme to tyme for ever ffor the contynuaunce of the same scoole for ever ffor the maryage of poore maydes of the sayd towne and ffor poore chyldren ther to be nurryshed and enformed accordynge to the fform of the sayd letters pattentes And the sayd Mayre Balyfes Burgeses and comonaltye aforesayde do covenante and graunte ffor them and ther successors to and wythe the sayd Syr Wyllyam and dame Alyce ther heyres executors adinystrators and assignes that they the same Mayre Balyfes Burgeses and comonaltye and ther successors ffrom tyme to tyme ffor ever hereafter shall ymploye and bestow all such rentes yssues proffyttes and comydtyes as by eany meanes hereafter they shall or maye lawfully and reasonably receave perceave levye or rayse of ffor uppon or by reason of the sayd thyrtene acres and one roode of meadow or of eany parcell thereof to the uses intentes and purposes expressed in the sayd letters pattentes and therein lymtyed and appoynted and to none other use entente or purpose *And ytt ys* furthermore covenanted graunted and agreed betwene the sayd parties to these presentes thatt all fynes and other conveyances and assurances heretofore levied had or made or hereafter to be levied had or made by the said Syr Wyllyam Harper and dame Alyce his wyffe or by eather of them to the sayd Mayre Baylyfes Burgeses and comonaltye of the premysses or of eany parcell thereof shalbe and contynue to the uses and intentes last above mencyoned and to none other use entente or purpose In wytness whereof the parties fyrste above named have to these presentes interchangablye putto ther seales dated the daye and yere fyrste above wryten.

The property was given by Sir William Harpur to the Mayor and Corporation of Bedford, by "The Deed of Gift," during his life, and not by will at his death, as some persons believe. From this indenture, it is evident, that the Founder intended first and foremost, to establish a Free Grammar School in Bedford, and as he was anxious to secure learned men to be the masters, he vested their nomination (in accordance with "The Letters Patent") in "the Warden or Keeper of the College of the Blessed Mary Winton, in Oxford, commonly called New College, Oxford, and the Fellows of the same for the time being," and contingent on the continuance of one master and usher for ever; secondly, that marriage portions should be given to "porre maydes of the sayd towne;" thirdly, that poore chylders ther should be "nurrysshed and enformed;" and fourthly, "to dystribute of the resydue or superfluytye comynge or remaynyng of the premyses, in almes to the porre of the sayd towne."

In the main, these designs are carried out in a far more extensive and munificent manner than the noble founder could have anticipated. The second, third, and fourth, of the intentions mentioned above, are limitedly carried out; but at least two hundred times as much money is now expended about the first and foremost of Sir William Harpur's designs, namely, the Grammar School, as the whole revenue of the Charity amounted to during the life of the founder; and the masters are still nominated by the Warden and Fellows of New College, exactly in the way he directed. According to the last general statement of the accounts of this charity, the Grammar School cost about £3,275 a year, exclusive of the Exhibitions; while it appears that the whole of the 13 acres 1 rood, was leased at the time the "Deed of Gift" was made for £12 per annum. We stated that the designs of Sir William Harpur are carried out 'in the main,' and it is obvious to every man of proper thought, that it would be wrong, if not impossible, to carry them out to the letter; as the Deed of Gift provides that, after the expenditure of a sufficient sum about the Grammar School, marriage portions, and "nourishing and informing" poor children, the surplus should be given in alms.

We now come to speak about the other parts of the Charity, which were not founded by the Letters Patent and Deed of Gift; it will therefore be right to call to mind the reason and manner of their being founded. Some years ago, the "surplus" became very large, and was expected shortly to become still larger, so much so, the legislature interfered, and thinking that this "surplus" was too much to spend according to the strict letter of Sir William Harpur's intention, passed an act for "Enlarging the Charitable Uses, Extending the Objects, and Regulating the Application of the Rents and Profits of the Estates," by which, and subsequent Acts, the English Schools were established. These Acts of Parliament made very little alteration in the Grammar School, excepting that they gave power to the trustees to make it still more efficient, by appointing more masters, and allowing exhibitions to College. The constitution of the Grammar School was maintained, but the English Schools were placed on a somewhat different footing. The masters of the Grammar School were to be nominated, as before, by New College, but the masters of the

English Schools were to be elected by the Trustees, without any restriction. It will then be perceived that the Charity consists of two parts, neither of them sectarian :—first, that which was founded by Sir William Harpur during his life; and secondly, that which was ensured by the legislature, at least two hundred years after his death.

The whole of the 13 acres 1 rood, was leased in the eighth year of Elizabeth's reign, (the very year in which the Deed of Gift was made,) to Richard Barron, for £12 a year. Some encroachments having been made upon the property in the year 1668, it was surveyed and found to consist of only 12 acres, 1 rood, 13 poles, instead of 13 acres 1 rood. The whole of this land, in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, which formerly belonged to the monastery of Charter House (then dissolved), was leased after this survey, by the Corporation, for the term of 41 years, at the yearly rent of £99. In 1684, a reversionary lease of the same property was granted for the further term of 51 years, to Dr. Nicholas Barbon, at the yearly rent of £150, to take place at the expiration of the former lease. At the expiration of this reversionary lease in 1760, the annual income was found to have increased to about £3,000. In consequence of the granting of these leases a large number of houses and buildings were erected, forming the following streets, courts, &c: Bedford Street, Bedford Row, Bedford Court, Princes Street, Theobald's Row, North Street, East Street, Lamb's Conduit Street, Queen Street, Eagle Street, Boswell Court, Green Street, Harpur Street, Rishbell Court, Hand Court, Gray's Inn Passage, Feather-stone buildings, Three Cups Yards, East Mews, Harpur Mews, &c. The Corporation and Inhabitants of Bedford—finding that a large proportion of the income has been expended in “the necessary and frequent application to the Court of Chancery for directions in the distribution of the Charity, from time to time, in an adverse suit,” and that, on account of the constant expense attending these applications, “the objects of the Charity in this town would be greatly deprived of the benefit of the charitable donations, and true end and design of granting the same, would in a great measure, be defeated,”—applied for an Act of Parliament in the 4th year of the reign of George III, by which “the charitable purposes for which such donation was intended” should be “fully explained, enlarged, and more immediately adapted to the present state and circumstances of the town.” This act obtained the royal assent in 1763; but by some inadvertency the recitals of the Deed of Gift in this act do not contain the whole of the uses comprised in the deed itself. Amongst other omissions, was one which caused a great deal of trouble and mischief; it was that clause in the deed, which states that the residue and surplus of the proceeds of the said premises should be distributed “in almes to the poore of the sayd towne for the tyme beinge.” This act, however, continued in legal authority until the 33rd year of King George III's reign, when it was repealed, and another act passed.

By these acts, the lord-lieutenant of the county, the members of the town and county, the mayor and corporation, the master and usher of the grammar school, and eighteen inhabitants of Bedford, six to go out yearly, were constituted trustees and administrators. Provision was made for endowing

twenty alms-houses ; for £800 annually to be given in marriage portions of £20 each, to *forty* poor maidens of the town ; £700 in apprentice fees, for *fifteen* boys and *five* girls ; £300 for clothing and maintaining children ; £100 for gratuities to deserving poor girls at service ; for £260 per annum to the master, and £180 to the usher of the grammar school, with other perquisites, and for a master and two ushers to the english school ; three exhibitions to scholars of £40 per annum each. The residue of the income to be expended in building and endowing more alms-houses, and some other charitable objects.

In 1819, a dispute arose between the Trustees and the Jews respecting the education of Jewish boys in these schools. The matter was referred to the Court of Chancery, and the following account of the affair appeared in *Dodley's Annual Register*, 1819:—"COURT OF CHANCERY, MONDAY, AUG. 23. *The Bedford Charity.* The Lord Chancellor on coming into Court, proceeded to deliver judgment in this interesting case. He stated that the matter came originally before the Court on the petition of Joseph Lyon and his daughter Sheba Lyon, residing in Bedford, and also of five elders of the Jewish Synagogue in Duke's place, London, praying that the children of Jews residing in Bedford might be admitted into the Charity School of that place ; that Jewish parents might be allowed to live in the alms-houses attached to the Bedford charity ; and that the petitioner Sheba Lyon, might be permitted to draw lots for the apprentice fee allowed by Act of Parliament : and that in the event of her lot being successful, the trustees of the Bedford Charity be directed to pay the fee to her. His Lordship adverted to the difficulty which had arisen respecting the jurisdiction of the Court, and its competency to entertain the original petition either under Sir Samuel Romilly's act or the Bedford act. To obviate these difficulties it had been recommended to the trustees to present a petition under that clause of the Bedford act which directed, that whenever doubt arose on the construction of any part of the charters they should apply for direction and instruction to the person holding the great seal. The trustees accordingly had presented a petition inquiring whether or not the Jews of Bedford should be admitted to a participation in the charity, and praying the Court to make such an order as it might think proper. His Lordship then proceeded to review the original deed of foundation by Edward 6th, and the acts of 1764 and 1793 relative to this charity. The act of 1793, commonly called the Bedford Act, superseded that of 1764. It recited the letters patent granted by Edward 6th for a grammar school : the grant made by Sir William Harpur and his wife ; and the purposes to which that grant was to be applied. It directed that the children of all the inhabitants residing in the town should be allowed to come to the school to be taught without fee. The 9th article provided that £900 were to be given in equal shares and at certain fixed periods, in the following manner:—The trustees were to give public notice of a meeting to be held in the town hall, for the purpose of distributing portions to poor maids belonging to the town, between 16 and 50 years of age ; and all those wishing to be candidates were to send in their *Christian* names and the names of their parents to the mayor, and were afterwards to draw lots for the portions. Another sum of £700 was to be laid out in paying the apprentice fees of 20 children, 15 boys and 5 girls ; and objects of this charity were to be

selected by lots in the same manner as the candidates for marriage portions. The act also recited the establishment of alms-houses for the reception of 20 poor persons, 10 men and 10 women, who were enjoined to go every Sunday to some place of public worship in Bedford, on pain of expulsion from the charity. His Lordship next adverted to a letter of Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, Esq., who stated himself to be of the Jewish nation, and to belong to the synagogue of Dutch and German Jews in London. This person wrote to the mayor of Bedford, wishing to be informed if there was any truth in the report which he had heard, that the Jews of Bedford were to be deprived of the benefit of the charity; and concluding his letter by expressing a hope that in this liberal and enlightened age the question, whether a man worshipped his God in a church, a chapel, or a synagogue, would not be considered a ground of exclusion from a charitable institution. This last passage of the letter reminded his lordship of the remarks which had been made by the bar on the subject of toleration; and whatever might be his opinion of the sentiment expressed by the writer, he apprehended, when an English judge was told that it was of no moment whether a man worshipped God in a church, a chapel, or synagogue, that it was his duty to recollect, that Christianity was part of the law of the land. He was not, indeed, to push that part of the law in such cases as the present further than the acts of parliament required; but as far as the acts looked to Christianity as a part of the law, it was his bounden duty to consider it such. But to resume. The Mayor of Bedford, in his answer to this letter, stated that the trustees, to resolve their doubts, had taken the opinion of an equity barrister of great eminence; that by his advice they had resolved not to admit Jews to the benefit of the charity; and that they left it to the parties to apply to the Chancellor if they thought themselves aggrieved. This accordingly produced the present application to the Court. The first question to be decided was, whether Jew boys were to be admitted to the charity school; and in determining that point, it was proper to bear in mind that this school was originally founded by Edward 6th as a grammar school. He believed that in all such schools great pains were taken to educate the youth in the doctrines and principles of the Christian religion: indeed he himself remembered the time when, in some parts at least, the boys at grammar schools were attended to church on Sundays by the masters. Now, as to the practice at this school there were various affidavits on both sides. The first, in support of the application, was that of Michael Joseph, a Jew, who stated that he had two sons and seven daughters all born in Bedford; that both his sons had been admitted into the charity, the eldest having attended the writing school and the youngest both the writing and the grammar school; that his two eldest daughters were married, and that they had both received the marriage portions of poor virgins. It appeared from this deponent's affidavit, that no Jew had ever been admitted into the hospital or almshouses. There were also the affidavits of Joseph Lyon, Godfrey Levi, and several other persons, to the same effect; and the result of all their testimony was, that as far back as 30 years ago, a few of these children had been admitted into the school, but that none of the Jewish nation had ever participated in the benefit of any other parts of the

charity. The first affidavit on the other side was that of Dr. Bryan the master of the Grammar School. He stated, that each boy attending the grammar school was taught the Latin language, and that when he had made some progress in the study of Latin he began to learn Greek; that in studying the latter language, the Greek Testament was the book chiefly read till the boys had acquired considerable proficiency in the language, and that every boy in the school was instructed in the Christian religion. He said, that on his appointment in 1811, he found Nathan Joseph, the son of Michael Joseph, at the school; that the said Nathan Joseph learned only the grammar of the Latin language, was not more than a year at the school, and attended both the writing and grammar schools; that he was required to dispense with this boy's attendance at morning and evening prayers, it being contrary to his religion to join in Christian worship; that he was also required to dispense with his attendance every Saturday, that being the Jewish Sabbath: and that he complained of the boy's frequent absence to his father, who said it was necessary on account of his being of the Jewish faith. The next affidavit was that of the writing-master, who deposed, that no Jewish boy had been admitted into writing-school since his appointment in 1814; that all the boys in his school were instructed in Christianity, read the Bible and New Testament, and learned the Church Catechism. There were also similar affidavits by the masters of the hospital and of the preparatory school. With regard to such regulations for the conduct of the school as rendered Jewish boys inadmissible, his lordship remarked that there was nothing either in the charter or in the acts of parliament that prevented the wardens and fellows of New College, Oxford, who were the visitors, to make whatever regulations they might think conducive to the benefit of the school; and he apprehended that if in the exercise of their visitatorial authority they made regulations that excluded Jews, their decision must be submitted to. If the school consisted partly of Jew boys, and partly of Christians, he did not think it possible that two such systems could go on together. It was impossible that a Jew boy could comply with the regulations made by the visitors for the purpose of carrying on the grammar school in such a manner as to preserve the *boni mores* of the scholars, which the charter declared to be one of the principal objects of the school. Then as to the hours of attendance, and the morning and evening prayers, how was it possible for a Jew, acting conscientiously, to allow his son to comply with these and various other regulations, which it was unnecessary for him to enumerate? On the whole, he could have no doubt that Jew boys were not admissible into the grammar school. The next point to be considered was, whether Jewish girls were entitled to the provision made for poor maids. The primary object of the charity being instruction in the Christian religion, was there any thing to warrant him in saying that it ought to be applied to other purposes. He could not believe that the acts of parliament contemplated the admission of Jewish girls to this charity, because, in mentioning the regulations with which the candidates were to comply, it was directed that each of them should give in her christian name and her surname. He was aware it might be said that a christian name did not necessarily mean the name by which a person was baptized, but it was used in contradistinction to a name. This he was ready to admit, when the distinction was applied to the names of

a person professing the christian religion : but still he thought that a christian name was something that did not belong to a Jew,—something to which a Jew could not lay claim. He, therefore, could not consider the Jewish girls entitled to become candidates for the portions of poor maids. As to the right of admission into the almshouses, it was evident that such a thing was never contemplated by those who framed the act of parliament, for there it was directed that the persons enjoying the benefit of this charity should go to a place of public worship on Sundays, or be expelled from the institution.

Mr. Heald begged to remind his lordship that the point here was not whether Jewish poor maids were to be admitted as candidates for marriage portions, but whether they were entitled to become candidates for apprentice fees.

The Lord Chancellor was perfectly aware of that, but the principle was precisely the same in both cases. The regulations prescribed by the act of parliament for casting lots, &c., were precisely the same in the one case as in the other, and therefore he did not think it necessary to go into the details of them all. It was his opinion that the Jews were not entitled to participate in any part of this charity; but that judgment being founded on a petition which had been argued, he did not mean that the order should be drawn up for a fortnight, in order that the parties might have an opportunity of communicating to him any remarks that they might think of importance.

His lordship directed the costs of the trustees to be paid out of the estate; and in answer to an application from Mr. Heald, for the payment of his client's costs also out of the estate, he said he must dismiss the first petition. In a case of summary jurisdiction like the present, he could not give cost unless the act of parliament had authorized him. Since that time the sons of Jews have been admitted to the various schools, and received their various privileges, like other boys.

The annual income of the property belonging to this Foundation at the commencement of the present century, amounted to £5,000. In 1826 the annual value of the estate was as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
297 houses in London	6793	5	0
50 houses, pieces of land, &c., in Bedford ...	153	4	6
Total.....	£6,946	9	6

On the 26th May, in the above-mentioned year, the present Act of Parliament (7th George IV. cap. 29) was passed—"An Act for the better management and disposition of the Estates given by Sir William Harpur, Knight, and Dame Alice his wife, for a free and perpetual School in the Town of Bedford."

"By this act," says Parry, "the former acts are repealed, but many of the former provisions are inserted in it. The trustees are the same in number, both official and otherwise, as before, and are elected with the forms usual on such occasions; they take an oath to administer justly and impartially the trust reposed in them. The eighteen must have resided three years in the town, be possessed of a freehold, in the town or country, of £20 per annum, or occupy a house in the town of £20 rent; they are a corporate body, with a common seal, bearing the founder's arms. No trustee to be a partaker of the charity, or a leaseholder, &c. Penalty for acting without being qualified, £50. Trustees to be balotted for by the inhabitants paying scot and lot; six to go out yearly. The estates are vested in them for the time being. They may on difficulties, petition the court of Chancery. The Attorney-General may petition against them, in case of misconduct, &c."

No subsequent Act having been passed, this still remains the law under which the Trustees are appointed to manage the affairs of the Bedford Charity. But the revenue, although yearly increasing, was considered inadequate to meet the increased claims in the full proportions as laid down in the Act of Parliament; consequently difficulty arose in the management of the charity affairs; several warm discussions and disputes occurred; and at last a majority of the Trustees decided in 1848, to apply to Parliament for fresh powers.

On the projected new act for the management of this charity, the following statement appeared in "The Athenæum" in the early part of the year 1849, and was copied in other quarters, exciting much attention:—"Sir William Harpur left a property for the maintenance of a grammar school, of one master and one usher, the residue in sustentation of poor children, marriage portions, and alms. The income has immensely increased, and so accordingly have the schools, which now embrace a great number of things besides grammar, with a corresponding number of masters and teachers, 'exhibitions,' and other advantages; and to all this there was little objection, except that the salaries of the two principal masters were rather more plethoric than was required for the interest of learning—the 'master' having £1,150, and the 'usher' £850 per annum, with other advantages payable out of the charity. But in process of time, the charity has got into debt; through that particular way of spending money, called 'building,' which is far from being a difficult one. And now the 'surplus,' the charitable desire of the founder, which for more than fifty years has been employed in honourable and munificent ways of benevolence, is to pay in purse, that is if Parliament and the voice of the kingdom will be parties to it. The two plethoric salaries are to be just touched, one or two other deductions to be made, whilst other salaries will be increased, and upwards of £1,500 a year is to be abstracted from the charitable allowances. The only thing answerable to the founder's injunction of 'alms,' £500 out of £12,000 in different ways amongst the poor of the town is to be no longer given: 'marriage portions' and 'apprentice fees' reduced nearly half; 'donations to apprentices' and 'for good service' to 'servants,' to be cut away: a 'hospital' left open to the extent of fifty children, 'orphans, or with some personal affliction' out of the population of 10,000, to be reduced to the minimum number of twenty

six. This is the proposed 'reform' of the Harpur Charity; and the way in which the interests of the higher and middle-classes are proposed to be defended against those of the poor."

Parry, speaking of this article, stated, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1849, that "The two salaries alluded to will, however, be more reduced than the above writer asserts, whilst the deduction from the charitable half, would be nearer £2,000. But the abolition of the "good service" donations, the reduction of the hospital, and the doing away with any gifts to the poor of the place, in direct opposition to the intention and wish of the founder, have excited strong objections, and fifteen out of thirty-one trustees oppose the new project. It would certainly be a very great pity for a town which has usually borne a high character for humanity—by a deliberate act, and that in a main point of trust, to throw it off. An avowed desire to make this "a second Eton or Rugby," if not late in the day, might be honourable enough in itself, but is not fit to be gratified in a mixed charity at the expense of the poor of an increasing population. A petition has been presented against the proposed act from the town by Sir John Walsely, and another is stated (March 31) to be in course of signature. On an interview with Lord Brougham, that distinguished nobleman assured the petitioners that the matter would be fully considered, with a special reversion to the will of the founder. The present head-master, Dr. Brereton, who has held the office since 1811, is considered a kindly and generous man. The late Rev. Dr. Abbott, an elegant scholar and author of a "*Flora Bedfordiensis*" and the present Dean of Manchester, have been second masters here. The last was also chaplain to the county jail, and had the very small living of Elstow, and was respected in each of these offices, as afterwards at Covent Garden."

The following extract from Mr. Parry's "*Historical Notes on Bedford*," which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of July, 1849, is worthy of insertion here.—Early in the reign of Elizabeth, the great *Bedford Charity*--as it has since proved itself--was founded by Sir William Harpur, a native. Letters patent had previously, in the reign of Edward VI., been obtained by the corporation to hold lands for joint educational and charitable purposes. This point claims attention, as some have thought that the animus of Sir William Harpur had even then appeared. Of the population at that period no known statement is in existence. It was probably at least 3,000, but it is quite possible that it may in former periods have exceeded the amount at the conclusion of the eighteenth century, about 4,000. Sir William's donation was of "thirteen acres and one rood of meadow land, in the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn," then rather known for "Strawberry gardens" (see Ric. III), and veritable "*Saffronhill*," then densely situated buildings. At that time the value of this land, situated "towards St. Giles in the Fields," was £40 per annum. The increase in the present day to £13,000 (full 300 times as much!) is certainly amazing. But when we find that about thirty streets &c., are comprised, including such business places as Bedford-row, and such crowded haunts of trade as Red Lion street, we feel the less surprised, or that each of these acres in London now averages a thousand pounds per annum of ground rents.

But to return to the doings of the Trustees. Their application was referred to the Court of Chancery, and not long afterwards a scheme was prepared and settled by a Master in the Court. But, by this period, the minority in the Board-room became the majority; the scheme was, therefore, declined. The proceedings were, however, revived again by the Attorney-General upon his being memorialized by some of the inhabitants of the town; and finally a scheme and new Rules and Regulations were prepared by a Master in Chancery, and confirmed on the 17th March, 1853, by Vice-Chancellor Wood. These form the Rules by which the affairs of the Charity are now regulated and managed. The lands, producing the funds of the Charity having been let out on building leases, and now being situated almost in the heart of London (in the parishes of St. George the Martyr, and St. Andrew, Holborn), have so increased in value by the locality of the property, that instead of bringing in only £12 a year at the expiration of the leases, they produce at the present time the almost incredible sum of £12,981 4s. per annum.

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

This school the first and foremost of the Founder's designs, becoming much dilapidated, was rebuilt by the Trustees in the year 1767; and previous to the late enlargement, consisted of two rooms, one above the other, each of which was about 40 feet in length, and 20 in breadth. It is formed of stone, with wrought quoins and a pediment in the centre. The windows which are good, are in the Elizabethan style.

Over the door in a niche, is a marble statue of the Founder, depicted in his robes as an Alderman, and on the pedestal beneath the statue the following inscription is placed:—

"Ecce viator! Corporea Effigies
 GULIELMI HARPUR, Equitis Aurati;
 Scholæ istius
 Quam cernis amplam et ornatam;
 Munificentissimi Fundatoris—
 Si Animæ Picturam spectare velis—
 In Chartâ Beneficiorum invenias
 Delineatum." *

* Translation.—"Behold, traveller! the Bodily Resemblance of Sir William Harpur, Knight: the very munificent Founder of this School, which you perceive is spacious and adorned. If you wish to behold the Picture of his Mind, you may find it delineated in the record of his Benefactions."

Although at first this school was taught by only one Master and one Usher, it has now a Head Master, a second Master or Usher, a Mathematical Master, two assistant Classical Masters, and Arithmetical Master, a Writing Master, a Drawing Master, a French Master, and a German Master. The Charity supplies residences to the Head Master and Usher, who are required to be fellows of New College, Oxford, or Clergymen of the Church of England,

being Graduates of one of the following Universities; Oxford, Cambridge, London, Dublin, or Durham. The two masters, who are *ex officio* Trustees of the Charity, are nominated by the Warden and Fellows of New College, according to the wish of the Founder. Two examiners are annually sent by the above-mentioned College to publicly examine (upon some day between the 1st day of May, and the 21st day of June,) the pupils in this school, in Classics, Mathematics, and branches of their learning, to award the Exhibitions; and also to enquire into and to report the management, state, and progress of the school. The Exhibitions, annually awarded, consist of two scholarships of £80 each, which may be held in either of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Dublin, or Durham, and are not restricted to those pupils who were born in Bedford. As regards these exhibitions, the Schedule to the Scheme says (vide section 9th) "That no scholar shall hold such Exhibition for a longer term than four years, and only such scholar shall hold or receive such Exhibitions as shall have been a scholar in the said School during four years immediately preceding the election to such Exhibition; and when such Exhibitioner belongs to either of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, or Durham, each such Exhibitioner shall reside in the University to which he shall belong, and shall once in every year procure and cause to be shown to the said Trustees a certificate from the proper authority that he has so resided as aforesaid, and that he has been attentive to his studies, and that his conduct has been good; but where such exhibitioner shall belong to the University of London, he shall attend during each year such lectures, and go through such course of studies as shall be required by some one of the Institutions or Colleges recognised by and affiliated to the said University of London, and shall once in every year procure and cause to be shown to the Trustees a certificate from the principal of such Institution or College, that he has attended such lectures, and gone through such course of study as aforesaid, that he has been attentive to his studies, and that his conduct has been good; and if any such scholar shall refuse or neglect to present, or shall not be able from his misconduct, to procure such certificate as aforesaid, his Exhibition shall cease and be discontinued from the time of the last preceding payment thereof, in such and the same manner as if he had held and received it for the full time hereby allowed, unless prevented by sickness; provided always that no such Exhibition shall be granted to any scholar whose age at the time shall exceed nineteen years, or who shall at any time within four years previous to the granting thereof have been a border with the said Master, Second Master, or Mathematical Master, for the time being of the said Grammar School."

The Trustees are empowered by the Schedule to the scheme, Section 6th, to grant annually the sum of £20 to be distributed in "rewards and prizes to meritorious and deserving scholars" educated in this school. That sum to be "paid and distributed by the Master thereof, in such a manner to and among such meritorious and deserving scholars, educated in the School (and not being boarders) as he shall think proper, and the costs, charges, and expenses of providing the same shall be paid and discharged out of the rents, issues, and profits of the said Charity Estate, at such a time and in such a manner as the said Trustees shall order and direct."

The number of pupils now on the Foundation is about 200. About seven or eight years since, the building erected in 1756, having been for a very long time too small for the requirements of the Masters and the pupils, it became absolutely necessary that some alteration should be made in the arrangements; for not only had considerable inconvenience been experienced, but in not a few instances the health of the Masters and boys, appears to have been materially impaired by the crowded state of the school. Steps were then taken to remedy these evils; and after several meetings of the Board had been held on the subject, at which rather warm discussions took place, it was eventually resolved that a new school should be built, large enough to accommodate a much larger number of pupils. The Trustees, anxious that the building should be constructed in as neat, and at the same time, commodious a manner as possible, offered the sum of £50 to any architect who should produce the best plans; amongst several gentlemen who competed, was Mr. James Horsford, of this town, the successful competitor, whose plans were chosen by the Board as being the most efficient, and the prize was therefore awarded to him. Some little difficulty was then met with, concerning the pulling down of an old house which stood on the site of the proposed school; after this had been overcome, and power granted by the Court of Quarter Sessions, for the diversion of Horne Lane, (which was then situated close to the outer walls of the old school) the building was commenced. About two years were occupied in the erection of the new school, and at last the building was completed in February, 1861.

The recently-erected portion of the school consists of a large handsome room forming the northern boundary of the building, 58ft. by 30ft.; on the south side of this there are two-rooms, one below and another above, each 22ft. by 24ft.; between which and the old building there is the entrance hall and staircase, surmounted by a tower in which a good full-toned bell has been placed. There are also class rooms for the masters. The internal arrangements have been carried out in the most complete and satisfactory manner. The new erection is in strict character with the old, and therefore presents no architectural display, but is simply a plain substantial stone building, due regard being paid to ventilation. Messrs. Thompson and Fryer, of Derby, were the contractors, and the manner of execution fully sustains the well-known reputation of the firm. On the morning of opening, Wednesday, April 17, 1861, the west side of old St. Paul's-square wore an unusually cheerful appearance, and flags and banners waved from the new tower. Invitations had been sent to all the parents and friends of the pupils, and as the Grammar School authorities were anxious to have as many visitors as the large hall would accommodate, the invitations were extended as often as they found that friends who had been invited would not be able to attend. The ceremony was arranged to commence at half-past two, but long before that time a large number of visitors crowded the entrance. Immediately the doors were thrown open, the bells of St. Paul's sent forth an enlivening peal, and in a very short time the large room was completely filled. There were present the Rev. J. Edwards Sewell, D.D., Warden of New College, Oxford; Rev. F. Fanshawe, head master of the Grammar School; Rev. H. Le Mesurier, second master; Rev. C. Brereton, assistant master; Rev. E. Swann, mathematical master; Dr. Steinmetz, German master; Mr. Hobacq,

French master; Mr. Halstead, arithmetical master; Mr. Cave, assistant arithmetical master. The Trustees present, who had assembled at the Board-room and walked in procession, the Mayor and Aldermen wearing their robes of office, were John Howard, Esq., Mayor; Aldermen Harrison, Nash, and Hurst; Councillors Wing, W. Jones, Wells, Dines, J. Sergeant, Read; Rev. R. W. Fitzpatrick; Messrs. Gray, M. Hinde, J. T. R. Allen, Bridcut, Tassell, W. Smith, and Thomas Clark; Mr. T. W. Pearse, solicitor to the Charity; Mr. Horsford, surveyor; and Mr. D. H. Francis, clerk to the Trustees. Amongst the company were some friends of the Head-master from the county, and the heads of most of the principal families in the town. The scholars, about 140 in number, occupied seats at the west end of the room. Out of these a singing class had been formed numbering 41. At first the class had the able assistance of the Rev. H. E. Havergal, vicar of Cople; but when, owing to his distant residence he was obliged to discontinue his kind and valuable services, the class came under the instructions of Mr. P. H. Diemer, and the very creditable manner in which the musical portions of the service were performed under his direction testifies favourably to the skill and aptitude of our young townsman as a teacher. We understand that the service was arranged by the Rev. H. Le Mesurier; the music selected was indicated at the head of each piece, and the whole arrangement could not have failed to impress every one by its extreme simplicity and appropriateness. With the exception of the assistance given by Dr. Steinmetz and Mr. Halstead, the whole of the service was entirely conducted by the boys. The poems and essays were the result of competition among the senior boys, the premiums being offered by the head master. The best writers for the English poem were Chamberlain, Green, and Wharton; and for the Latin essay, Green, Le Mesurier, and Chamberlain. The ode was composed by invitation to the recent pupils of the school. Mr. Rudd, amongst others, accepted the invitation, and his efforts proved successful.

After waiting a short time until all the visitors had arrived and taken their places,

The Rev. F. Fanshawe rose (the whole of the audience rising at the same time) and spoke to the following effect:—Mr. Mayor, Mr. Warden, Ladies and Gentlemen, it seems to us fitting that I should in a few words call your minds to the spirit and purpose of this day's ceremony. Since on this day we enter upon the occupation of this magnificent hall and its adjacent buildings, we have thought proper to invite the Trustees of this Great Charity, the Warden of New College, the parents and friends of the pupils, so far as we have accommodation, and all the old Grammar School boys we know of, to meet us to celebrate this inauguration. For within these walls God's Word will be explained and His will enforced; and the best and soundest of human law will be instilled by us and our successors into the minds of youth for many generations; that so, their characters being duly trained, their faculties exercised, they may go forth fitted to serve their God and their Queen. and do good among their fellow-men, soberly, discreetly, manfully, and steadfastly. Seeing then that it is a solemn and pious work which will have to be performed, with piety and solemnity it befits us now to enter upon it, with prayer to Almighty God that He will bless the work here, and with thanksgivings to Him for mercies and benefits received, especially through the instrumentality of our pious founder.

The prayer, "*Omnipotens et Sempiternus Deus*," was intoned by Wharton, the selections from the Psalms being chanted by the choir.

Omnipotens et sempiternæ Deus, placide exaudi nos, benedictionem tuam orantes proque nobis metipsis, proque his ædibus novis, ad amplificationem veteris domus ex largitate viri boni, diu defuncti, at memoria factisque vivi, modo conditis, jam perfectis, quasque nunc in usus disciplinæ occupamus, gratiæ tuæ auxilio fidentes, per Jesum Christum Dominum Nostrum. Amen.

Psalmus.

SINGLE CHANT—BATTISHILL.

1 Quam magnificata sunt opera tua Domine omnia in sapientia fecisti, impleta est terra possessione tua.—Ps. civ, 24.

2 Aperis Tu manem tuam et imple omne animal benedictione tua.—Ps. cxlv, 16.

3 Confiteantur Tibi, Domine, omnia opera tua et sancti tui benedicant Tibi.—Ps. cxlv, 10.

4 Gloriam Regni tui dicent et loquentur tuam potentiam.—Ps. cxlv, 11.

5 Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus quoniam misericordia ejus sempiterna est.—Ps. cvi, 1.

6 Qui dat escam omni carni quoniam misericordia ejus sempiterna est.—Ps. cxxxvi, 25.

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.

Sicut erat in principio et nunc, et semper, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

SINGLE CHANT—DR. W. TURNER.

7 Nisi Dominus ædificaverit domum in vanum laboraverunt eam qui ædificant.—Ps. cxxvii, 1.

8 Nisi Dominus custodiverit civitatem frustra vigilat qui custodit eam.—Ps. cxxvii, 2.

9 Lauda, Hierusalem, Dominum, lauda Sion Deum tuum.—Ps. cxlvii, 12.

10 Quoniam seras portarum tuarum confortavit, et in te benedixit filiis tuis.—Ps. cxlvii, 13.

11 Quemadmodum audivimus, ita vidimus in civitate Domini exercituum, in civitate nostri Dei Deus fundavit in æternum eam.—Ps. xlviii, 7.

12 Adhibete animum ad propugnaculum ejus, videte ut sint alta palatia ejus ut enarretis generationi posteræ.—Ps. xlviii, 13.

Gloria Patri, &c.

SINGLE CHANT—SIR F. G. OUSELEY.

13 Timor Domini principium scientiæ beatus homo qui eam invenit.—Prov. i, 7; iii, 13.

14 Principium sapientiæ, posside sapientiam et acquire prudentiam in omni possessione tua.—Prov. iv, 7.

15 Dominus terram sapientia fundavit, et prudentia cœlos stabilivit.—Prov. iii, 19.

16 Pretiosior est cunctis opibus et omnia quæ desiderantur huic non valent comparari.—Prov. iii, 15.

17 Lignum vitæ est his qui apprehenderint eam, et qui eam tenuerit beatus.—Prov. iii, 18.

18 Longitudo dierum in dextra ejus et in sinistra illi divitiæ et gloria.—Prov. iii, 16.

Gloria Patri, &c.

C. C. Chamberlain, sen. then recited his

ENGLISH POEM ON THE OPENING OF THE NEW GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

'Tis sweet at morn to climb some rocky steep
And watch the sun rise o'er the peaceful deep;
'Tis sweet to smell the breath of fragrant lawn,
Of flowers just opening with return of dawn;
But sweeter far to mark the sunny day
Of happy boyhood in its best array;
Its blossoms open, and its buds expand,

Strengthened and guided by a watchful hand,
Till autumn skies their golden gladness fling
O'er the rich promise of a silver spring.

Speak we, my comrades, for we best can tell
Of fellowship at school, what potent spell
Its cheering influence sheds o'er every soul,
Links each to each, and sanctifies the whole.
We, for whom friendship spreads her fairest charms,
Whom union strengthens, and affection warms,
Strangers as yet to conflict or to strife,
Soldiers unpractised in the toil of life,—
Say, can we see this ample fabric rise,
This cherished vision of expectant eyes,
Yet wanting words of gratitude pass by
The joyful day of its nativity?

O could our Founder from his silent tomb
Burst through the barriers of sepulchral gloom,
Harpur, the great, the generous, and the good,
With all the faculties of life endued,
And see, as once he saw with prophet's eye,
The dawn of learning and of liberty,
And mark what fair and goodly structures grace,
Adorn, and beautify his native place:
Methinks his soul would thrill with joy to see
How cherished still abides his memory.
Like some fair flower with scented blossoms crown'd,
That sheds its grateful perfume all around,
While every floweret that beside it blows
Feels the soft influence that its fragrance throws,
So did his presence pour perpetual day,
And richest blessings grace his virtuous way.
Such was our Founder; rich should be the fruit
To all posterity from such a root.
Ours are those fruits; in loveliest bloom they rise,
An insense sweet, a grateful sacrifice.

First turn we to the past and see how fair
Are all our visions that lie centred there:
The fresh reunion after summer joys,
The varied tale that many a tongue employs;
Regret for some departed, but to prove
How true their worth, and how esteemed their love;
The long remembered game; the fitful breeze
That softly whispers round the silver trees,
While 'neath their branches in delightful strain
The jocund laugh bursts forth, and yet again
It rings still louder, as if Nature filled
The soul with sweets of purest growth instilled.
For there 'tis ours when cooling zephyrs blow,
To feel our hearts warm with affection's glow,
To dwell with rapture on the days gone by,
Or dream awhile on future destiny,
To breathe to some fond brother's listening ear
Our every hope, our pleasure, or our care,
And know that, partners of one common name,
Our hopes are one, our interests the same.
Ah! cold and wearisome this world would be
Without the tear and smile of sympathy:
This is the flower in life's sad wilderness

That soothes and lessens many a great distress—
 Oh yes? 'tis this that bids us ever feel
 Increasing strength and still increasing zeal—
 'Tis this that bids us hope, and e'en rely
 On a bright future of prosperity.
 Then speed we onwards! grateful let us speed,
 'Tis for a bounteous crop we sow the seed;
 Work and be brave, nor ever slack your pow'rs,
 This is your day for work. Those golden hours
 If rightly used will shed a sweet relief
 On future toil, and soften every grief.
 Speed onwards! if cast down still hope shall say,
 Life is at best a rough and slippery way;
 Regard not crosses, saving as they teach
 None to aim higher than within his reach;
 The summer storm that fells the forest's pride
 Gladdens the herbage with its smiling tide;
 Sorrow of heart may linger for a night,
 But joy returneth with the morning light.

Time-honoured school! to memory so dear,
 Claiming the tribute of a grateful tear,—
 O fostering nurse of many an one that now
 Sleeps with his fathers in the sod below,—
 Must we look only to thy once-loved race,
 The joyous inmates of this hallowed place,
 Spelling the names that live so long at school,
 Carved with the pen-knife on the time-worn stool,
 Or scan again the legendary lore
 Rudely engraven on the desk and door
 Of those who, vanished like a midnight dream,
 Are borne along time's ever rapid stream!
 No. If the past alone were all our care,
 That were a sorrow which no heart could bear,
 If all our comfort were to dream of those
 For whom thou toiledst with a mother's throws,
 Gainless our lot indeed. Not such thy task—
 New forms and faces still thy favour ask:
 Wake! and lead on thy charge to honoured worth;
 Wake! and revive in this thy second birth.
 A bright horizon long has marked thy way,
 Few clouds have hid thy ever prosperous day,
 Thy sons beloved have many a laurel won,
 Thy heroes oft a glorious race have run;
 And well I love to scan their deeds of old,
 To sing the triumphs of the brave and bold,
 To listen to the tale of Bedford's pride,
 And see how well they lived, how nobly died,
 Fighting so bravely with the toil and din
 To which all wake in this our world of sin;
 And while I view their acts and read each name,
 For ever written on the scroll of fame,
 And reading mark, and marking wisely learn
 Whence are the chaplets that adorn each urn,
 I think how happy it would be to feel
 Their pious warmth and patriotic zeal.
 Lo! while the vision flits before my eyes,
 And noonday splendor I perceive arise;
 No longer does that school where now I felt

My soul beneath its gentle influence melt
 Remain the same, for whitening walls I see
 The new abode of truth and piety,
 Windows deep set, fair halls that raised on high
 Bask in the sunshine of the clear blue sky,
 While flitting round them with enliv'ning ray
 The sparkling sunbeams ever chasing play,
 Emblems methought of that fair light and love
 Which gild the regions of the world above :
 And inwardly I pray that, like the light
 Which those fair windows opened on the sight,
 So might the dawn of learning and of truth
 Adorn and sanctify the mind of youth.
 Sweeter, and yet more sweet the thought did seem,
 My soul lay raptured in the pleasing theme,
 When looking up unconsciously I saw
 That grand and hallowed monument of yore—
 Yon noble church, which oft I ween has spread
 Full many a feast for many a careworn head ;
 There side by side we've knelt to praise our God,
 Hard by the halls where learning's path we trod,
 And felt the influence of its holier ray
 Warm into life the studies of each day ;
 When weary thoughts have strayed, or zeal grown cool,
 Or spirits flagged beneath the toils of school ;
 Lo ! to our sight, of ample form and fair,
 With spire uplifted thro' the pure bright air,
 Its hallowed presence hath a signal given
 To work on earth, but point our hopes to Heaven,—
 Learn both what's needful for this earthly home,
 And what shall fit us for the world to come.

Then fancy led me onwards to desery
 The verdant laurels of sweet victory,
 To see our school assume its brightest name,
 That might compare with favoured Eton's name ;
 And while with grateful hearts we own the care
 Which Bedford's sons with Wykeham's scholars share,
 In brotherhood of learning vie with her,
 Parent of England's schools, time-honoured Winchester,
 So at its zenith meet this high applause,
 Thou art the guardian of thy country's cause.

Hail to thee, honoured spot ! when toil and strife
 And all the stern realities of life
 Shall come about me, when the power of truth
 Shall scatter all the dreams that brighten youth ;
 How oft shall memory dwell upon the past
 And sigh for other days too bright to last !
 How oft thy name shall fill my grateful soul
 And animate my beings very whole,
 While his in sweetest accents e'er shall sound,
 Who raised this building on his native ground.
 And if perchance thy halls forgotten be
 By some while braving life's perplexing sea,
 If yonder aged trees shall fade and die,
 While Ouse's noble stream winds slowly by,
 And all that once marked pleasure's fairy way
 Like cloistral lamp shall fling a misty ray,
 To me no time, no distance, nor no hour

Shall cloud the brightness of thy classic bower ;
 Tho' other charms may wither and decay,
 Tho' other joys may melt and fade away,
 Yet will I honour e'er thy virtuous shrine,
 And bless the hour that knit my soul to thine :
 Yet will I leave thee with a starting tear
 Of fond affection for a home so dear,
 Yet bid the last farewell, for ever free
 To spend my lonely hours in happiest thoughts of thee.

At the conclusion of the poem the scholar was cheered by his comrades and applauded by the company.

Then was recited a Latin speech by Green, sen., on

THE PRAISES OF SIR WILLIAM HARPUR, THE FOUNDER.

of which the following is a substance :—

Excellent was the saying of Pericles,* “that it is an honourable custom to praise the dead who have distinguished themselves,” and also the words of the wise Hebrew,† “Let us praise our fathers and forefathers.” And it may therefore at this time become us to perpetuate the memory of a most worthy man, our Founder; and this task I undertake with the greatest willingness, because it has been proposed to me to hold up to your admiration a man who lives in the heart of each, and to whom we owe in a very great measure the prosperity of our town, and therefore, of our country. I have therefore no fear lest, if my efforts fail, he should suffer in your esteem; for indeed he deserves very great admiration, as having most largely benefitted the country by founding, at a most seasonable time, Bedford School.

For our Founder—living in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth—was present at the most perilous times of British history, because he witnessed the minds of men fettered with superstition by the priestly authority; and when, on the withdrawal of this yoke, men knew not whither to betake themselves, then the fine arts seemed on the point of perishing. But, O wonderful prudence! O most worthy men! who, perceiving what was required, founded schools where the people might become acquainted with arts and literature.

The life, then, and the parentage of such a man, consider awhile with me.

William Harpur was born of ignoble parents in the town of Bedford. Soon betaking himself to London, by industry and perseverance he became a member of a most illustrious society, and at last attained to the honour of Lord Mayor of London. He died at length in a good old age, crowned with honours. But his memory has not died with him; nor, I pray, may the man, who, with a simple affection for his city, has imparted to us such inestimable treasures, ever be forgotten amongst us. He, forsooth, did not, though he was a *novus homo*, found his school in the celebrated city of London, in order to obtain popularity; nor did he, as many would in such a position, despise the place of his boyhood; indeed, his commanding that his body should be laid in the church of St. Paul, at Bedford, would show that he gloriied in the town. What affection! what pureness of motive! I would that there were many other Harpurs to follow such a noble example. But do ye here present cast your eyes around your town. What large and embellished buildings! what fine and broad streets! how powerful, how wealthy is the town itself! yet all these would praise Harpur as the donor. The widows presented with those things which may soothe their declining years, needy boys and un-

* Thucydides—Book II., ch. 35.

† Ecclesiasticus 44.—Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us.

married girls relieved by his care, and the whole youth of the town blessed with a useful education—praise Harpur. But we, comrades, above all, praise Harpur, since we are presented by him with a most noble instruction in the arts and sciences. And I think at this time that we ought not to omit all mention of Harpur's prudence in endowing the school in land, when we have met together expressly to commemorate his memory, because we are entering upon the occupation of these new buildings—because, in fact, more can now enjoy the advantages of a free education.

Nor are we—unless I am much mistaken—engaged to-day in a work of little importance; for were this day to concern us alone, it would certainly claim large honours: but, as I think, this inauguration affects the nation at large; for to-day, I declare, in the face of all, the benefits which arise from education. Nor are we mistaken; for the youth, being instructed here in morals and learning, and inspired with a generous ardour for liberty, issue from hence to the duties of life. Here the youth inhale the sweetest draughts from a fountain to which, whatever might have a tendency to corrupt good morals, cannot find means of entrance, and in which whatever is good is preserved unimpaired. Hence arise the loftiest desires and the purest pleasures. But who shall dare to say that these schools have not well responded to the hope of these prudent men, and have not borne ample fruit, when he sees the people safely settling beneath the wide-spreading shade of liberty, and discord totally dispelled, and the country deeply versed in the arts and sciences? when he sees the Britons at length striving to raise barbarous nations from their low condition, and to imbue them with the blessed religion of Christ? What remains then? except it is to affirm the hope—and may it not be a vain or arrogant hope—that this school has not defeated the expectations of its pious founder; for many may point to its walls and say, with grateful mind, that had it not been for it they would have passed their life—softened by no draughts of learning—wild and uncultured in their dispositions and morals. But having received such great advantages from the school, let us, so far as lies in our power, repay the kindness. It will not be sufficient merely to cherish this our *Alma Mater* with a grateful recollection; but it will behove us, comrades, when we go from hence, to pursue our studies in arts and literature with a honest desire to improve ourselves, and thus to spread wider the name of Bedford Schools, and by an uninterrupted line of worthy scholars to render the memory of Harpur eternal.

The author at the conclusion was warmly cheered by the school and the company.

The Choral Service then continued.

Gratiarum Actio.

JOHN READING, 1665.

Benedictus sit Deus in donis suis,
Et sanctus in omnibus operibus ejus.
Adjutorium nostrum est in Nomine Domini,
Qui fecit cælum et terram.
Sit nomen Domini benedictum,
Ex hoc nunc usque in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Gratias Pro Fundatore.

Agimus tibi gratias, omnipotens Deus, pro fundatore nostro *Guilielmo Harpur*, cujus beneficiis hic ad pietatem et ad studia literarum alimur, rogantes ut nos, his donis tuis ad nominis tui honorem recte utentes, ad Resurrectionis tue gloriam perducamur immortalem, per Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Oratio Pro Regina.

Fac Reginam salvam, Domine; da pacem in diebus nostris; et exaudi nos in die quocunque invocamus Te. Amen

Mr. E. J. S. Rudd, of St. John's College, Cambridge, then recited the following ode on

GRATEFUL REMINISCENCES OF SCHOOL.

"Mem'ry breathes her vesper sigh to thee."

On hope and grateful memory

The sinking heart of man relies :

Alas the smiling prospects flee,

Nor pleasure present satisfies ;

Too soon must beauty pass away,

Riches and grandeur must decay,

At length the palm of honour fade

And all that nature fair has made.

Ah yes, hope's most alluring dreams

Too oft in gloomy sorrow end ;

Try we if mem'ry's sunny beams

May yet our weary path befriend :

Remembrance lasts of beauty's ray,

When beauty long hath passed away ;

We love as well tho' autumnal scene

As verdant summer's brightest green.

The trav'ler on a toilsome road,

Doth not he oft times turn his mind

To the spot where he erst abode,

The loved scenes he left behind ?

What tho' amid the desert drear

Some bright oases may appear ?

Nothing I ween where'er he roam,

Brings such relief as thoughts of home.

E'en so life's journey mem'ry cheers,

And lighter does our burden lie,

When we remember childhood's years,

And joyous days that have gone by :

And as we see before our eyes

The vivid retrospect arise,

Where better loves fond fancy's gaze

To linger, than on schoolboy days ?

That happy time when first we read

The mystic page of classic lore,

Or boldly climb the paths that lead

To science's unending store :

That season when in grateful hearts

Untaught as yet malicious arts,

All the affections warmest glow,

And know to feel for others' woe.

With eagerness are friendships sought,

Friendships to last while life endure ;

All after friendships are as nought,

Not half so warm, not half so sure.

But this time cannot always last.

And, ere we prize it, lo, 'tis passed ;

And leaves the thought of mis-spent hours,

Omitted duties, wasted powers.

Happy are they to whom the means

Is given their talents to redeem,

Mid Granta's soul inspiring scenes,
 Or on the bank of Isis' stream ;
 There too are friends almost as true,
 There's much of old and much of new ;
 We gently pass, not instant hurl'd,
 Into the troubles of the world.
 And Bedford tho' no "antique tower,"
 No "distant spire," may meet the gaze,
 Yet still I feel a magic power
 Denies that these can add to praise ;
 Etona's bard may laud in song
 The pleasures Thames's banks along,
 Thee Bedford, thee, as much I love,
 Near Ouse's stream content to rove.

How gladly too recurs the thought
 Of the time when we sought the field.
 Eager to join the noble sport'
 The ball to hurl, the bat to wield,
 Or hast'ning to old Ouse's shore,
 We skimm'd the wave with feather'd oar,
 Or floated gently down the stream,
 Indulging fancy's idle dream.

And other sports there are we prize,
 If trifling, yet sincere no less ;
 The joys of gen'rous rivalries,
 The pleasures which attend success :
 These sports may Bedford ever love,
 In these excelling, seek to prove
 The foremost in the manly game,
 May gain the scholar's fairest fame.

In the youngest heart a joy may rise,
 The keenest that success attends,
 As he receives his well earn'd prize
 Amid the plaudits of his friends :
 No after honours can he dare
 With first successes to compare,
 The mem'ry of no glorious deed,
 Nor gen'ral's fame, nor scholar's meed.

May each succeeding cycle see
 Bedford's success without alloy ;
 And "*Floreat Domus*" ever be
 The prayer of every Bedford boy !
 I too, my feelings deep imbued
 With love and sacred gratitude,
 Sir William's and Dame Alice name
 Would link with holy Margaret's honour'd fame.

The service concluded with—

Hymnus.

THE OLD WINCHESTER GRACE—"JAM LUCIS ORTO SIDERE."

Domus, Pater, jam conditæ
 Honos Tuus sit incola :
 Tu porticus cælestibus
 Prædiis circumsede.
 Impubes usque Tu manus
 Huc ventitantes respice ;

*Et inter mundi semitas
Pedes securos dirige.*

*Infirma Verbo pectora
Rectoque cultu robora :
Cibum cælestem porrige ;
Et mala procul abige.*

*Ut omni mane gratiam
Tuam precentur cum fide,
Et corde grato vesperi
Laudes Tuas concelebrent.*

*Deo Patri sit Gloria,
Ejusque Soli Filio,
Sanctissimo cum Spiritu,
Et nunc et in perpetuum.*

At the conclusion the Mayor, on behalf of the Trustees of the Charity, officially delivered over the School to the Head Master.

The Mayor, on rising, was greeted with loud applause. He said he supposed that it was in consequence of the situation he had the honour to fill it was thought seemly that he should offer a few observations upon the present interesting occasion, and there was one favour he should like to ask, and it was this, if he should be brought to a dead stand they would kindly interpose a little of the—(and suiting the action to the word, his Worship beat his foot upon the raised platform on which he was standing. The young gentlemen immediately expressed their assent to the request of the worthy Mayor by hearty demonstrations in the manner suggested, amid the laughter of the audience)—in order, continued the Mayor, that the pulsation may get regulated during the exercise (laughter). If he had not been favoured with a long tenure of office he would neither have had the honour nor the anxiety of addressing them; but upon such an auspicious occasion as that of opening this magnificent school he did not consider it unbecoming that he should offer his congratulations especially as the representative of the Corporation connected with this ancient borough, which he need hardly remind many of them was one of the most ancient in the kingdom (applause). This was an occasion of great importance. If a private person built a splendid residence for himself and his posterity it would be regarded as a memorable incident in the history of the family; but what comparison would the erection of a private residence bear with the inauguration of a building like this, designed to be a free and perpetual Grammar School upon the foundation of Sir William Harper. Here they had the honour of meeting the Warden as the representative of New College, and the masters of this magnificent school (applause). This building was opened to train youth of the present and future generations, imparting to them a liberal and sound education, so cultivating their mind that what they imbibe here should have a practical influence upon their future life (applause). That was the great object of education. One of the recitations they had just heard furnished a beautiful similitude. The writer referred to the beautiful buds and blossoms expanding at this season of the year. He felt obliged to the young gentleman for the thought his allusion had suggested, for when the biting east wind shall be superseded by gentler breezes, they would look with admiration upon the beautiful annuals that were being trained up with such precision by the horticulturist. In the uniformity of the beautiful flowers and their multitude of blossoms they saw the effect of culture; but only let the training ladder be dispensed with, and they would soon run wild. So with respect to youth without the influence and example of upright and pious parents: they had only to put away the training ladder, dispense with a wholesome and sound education, and these youths would soon run into disorder (laughter). He was also glad at having put down another memorandum. The head in his opening observations had expressed the principle on which education

would be conducted here. He was exceedingly glad to find that wisdom was the principal thing to be aimed at, and he would exhort the pupils to get wisdom, for the highest authority had compared it with rubies and had stated that wisdom was more precious than rubies. To follow up the similitude, the wise man had said, "Train up a child in the way he should go," that is keep the training ladder in view, "and when he is old he will not depart from it." It was pleasing to him, as it must be to all present, to know that religion will be infused in the school, as it would be a light to them when they commenced their voyage on the boundless ocean of life. Without the great blessing of religion no system of education was complete; it taught them not to place dependence on their own endeavours, but that whatever their efforts might be they must depend for success entirely upon the Divine Being, always keeping in mind the saying that except the Lord build the house their labour is vain. He was greatly interested in hearing the congratulatory language offered to the founder of this magnificent charity. Sir William Harpur was a poor boy, and a native of Bedford. He was of humble parents, and almost without education, except that sort of education to be obtained in those days from the very humblest of schools; but he had the same indomitable energy and perseverance about him which had been the means of raising many a poor boy to wealth and respectability. He went up to London, where, by the greatest possible diligence, he obtained wealth and reputation, and filled the highest office the greatest metropolis could give him. Having felt the want of education himself, he determined to do something for the Bedford boys, and to his munificent bequest they owed these splendid educational establishments (applause). In this school many youths had distinguished themselves and afterwards became profound lawyers, perhaps judges—one at least from this school obtained a seat on the bench, and was now in India; skilful surgeons and physicians, and faithful ministers of religion (applause). He could go farther back than perhaps any other person present, and could speak of the state of the schools upwards of sixty years ago. Until Dr. Brereton came, the schools were in a very unsatisfactory condition; the Grammar School was held in the upper room of the old building, and the Commercial in the lower. As to the educational attainments of the pupils of the former, nothing very favourable could be said of them; they excelled in ring-taw, and were the best players at peg-top, (laughter), and in these games the boys in the lower room were no match for those in the upper (applause). But when Dr. Brereton came a new state of things was introduced, and in the work of progress he was soon joined by Mr. Le Mesurier (applause). A vigorous effort was made in the system of education, and in a short time the whole affair was metamorphosed (applause). After these came Mr. Swann, and that gentleman had been climbing year after year until he had reached the very top of the mathematical ladder (applause). He should be sorry to hurt anybody's feelings, therefore he would not omit alluding to the assistant and junior masters, who had honourably borne their share in pushing forward the progress of the school (applause). But briefly would he allude to their past struggles and difficulties. They had been tossed about by the tempest and had been as near shipwrecked as possible; but they had struggled on, and at last had got safe in harbour, and now he hoped that henceforth all might have a safe and happy voyage through life (applause), that the school under the present accomplished conductor might have an uninterrupted career of prosperity (applause). He believed that the new building was of the right sort, that it was built in the right place and at the right time (hear, hear). He also believed that another building had been placed in the right place—he meant Mrs. Bass's house (much laughter). Those who might think otherwise, let them go in front of Mr. Le Mesurier's and Mr. Fjnlinson's houses, look around, and they would have a demonstration of the palpable improvements which have replaced that unsightly old building and the old dilapidated cottages (applause). And now he would congratulate the masters of this school upon the success which had attended their efforts. He thought the honours bestowed upon the Bedford boys would, in proportion to the number, bear comparison with the other leading schools in the kingdom—Harrow, Rugby, Eton, and Westminster. There could be no doubt that the prosperity of the school would have a great influence upon the town, both as regarded population and commerce, and give an impulse to its prosperity (applause). He was very glad that the plan of the new building had been designed by their own surveyor, Mr. Horsford (applause). One of the contractors, Mr. Thompson, had finished his earthly

career before the work was brought to a completion, showing another instance of the brittle tenure of life; but all would agree that the building had been completed in a manner highly creditable both to surveyor and builder (applause). In conclusion, he would only say that one and all valued old England; and persons who had been to America or Australia always remembered the sweet home they had left behind, and when they returned could not forbear singing "Home sweet Home." They had the best sovereign that ever sat upon the throne, mildly swaying her sceptre over the teeming millions of her subjects; and therefore he thought they could not do better than conclude this interesting ceremony by singing that divine and loyal song, the National Anthem. One word more. This school has been erected in the 25th year of the reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, and in the third year, ladies and gentlemen, of the mayoralty of your most obliged, most obedient, and most humble servant (protracted laughter and cheers). And this finishes my address (renewed laughter).

The Rev. F. Fanshawe said, as reference had been made to Dr. Brereton, he wished to say that he had received a note from him stating that he intended to have been present, but was prevented by indisposition.

Dr. Sewell said he would gladly second the Mayor's proposition to conclude the ceremony with the National Anthem, but he also wished to be permitted on this occasion, on the part of the College he represented, to express to the Mayor and Trustees of the Bedford Charity the satisfaction they have felt that the long-considered and great want of school accommodation had been provided, and the work completed in so splendid a manner (applause.) It would be a great satisfaction to the College when he reported the handsome way in which they have provided for and promoted the benefit of the Grammar School. He wished to take this opportunity of thanking the trustees for what they have done in the cause of education, and he hoped they and through them the inhabitants, would accept what he stated as an indication of the great interest the College takes in the honour, usefulness, and success of the school (applause). The rise of the Bedford Grammar School no doubt dated from the period Dr. Brereton became head master, but it had since gone on progressing and taking its position amongst the principal public schools in the kingdom. He was sure they would all join heartily with him in the hope that the words used by his College in the prayer daily offered up, that whatever tended to the advancement of true religion and sound learning might ever flourish and abound, might be carried out in this new building (loud applause).

The National Anthem was then given in very pleasing and admirable manner, each verse being sung in quartette by the following, and then by the choir in unison:

First verse: Browne, treble; Twiss, alto; Wilkinson, tenor; Chamberlain, bass. Second verse: Burnaby, treble; Jones, alto; Wharton, tenor; Bayly, bass. Third verse: Redden, treble; Foulkes, alto; Pooley, tenor; Dearden, bass.

Three cheers were then given for the Mayor, three cheers for Mr. Fanshawe, three cheers for the Warden of New College, three cheers for Mr. Le Mesurier, and three cheers for Mr. Swann. The company then separated.

The following leading article on "The opening of the New Grammar School," appeared in the Bedford Times of April 30, 1861.

Wednesday last was signalized by the formal opening of the new Grammar School, a ceremony which made a deep impression upon all the persons who witnessed it, not on account of the splendour of the arrangements nor the grandeur of the programme, but simply that it was the hearty and spontaneous expression of thankfulness of the boys, masters, and parents, on the consum-

mation of their hopes. Those who were desirous of carrying out the intentions of the beneficent founder so as to establish a school of the highest order in Bedford, have been so often disappointed that it required great courage to proceed. Many there are in the town who can testify that "hope deferred maketh the heart sick"; and had it not been that the promoters were of that race whose motto is "never despair," and whose characteristic is when foiled to try again, the scheme would long ago have been abandoned. The legal difficulties, and the local prejudices were potent for a time, and in the struggle much has been sacrificed which might have been turned to a good account; but now all is ended it is hardly worth while to count the cost of the past. The new building has been erected; the masters and boys have now ample breathing space and plenty of light, privileges they never had in the old school although the Harpur endowment is one of the wealthiest in England. When our oldest inhabitants take a retrospective glance at the educational progress of Bedford, they cannot but be proud that their town is taking so high a position amongst the seats of learning. Many of the inhabitants remember that period when, notwithstanding the liberal endowment, education was held of little account in Bedford, and the demand for instruction was so small that the "schooling" was all administered under one roof, in the old school-house, and new objects of charity were created to absorb the proceeds of the estate; whereas there are now sustained by this endowment the Grammar, Commercial, Preparatory Commercial, General Preparatory, Girl's, and Infant Schools. At the present time there are upwards of 1,700 children of inhabitants of Bedford, receiving a free education upon this endowment. The duties of the Grammar School can now be carried on in a spacious, lofty, and well-proportioned hall and suitable class rooms. It was to inaugurate the completion of the new buildings that the ceremony of Wednesday last was held, and a more satisfactory duty has never fallen to the lot of any chief officer of the municipality of Bedford than that which devolved on Mr. Howard upon that day. It was his duty as the representative of the trustees of the Bedford Charity to announce the completion of the works, and to hand over to the Head Master that which he had so long desired, and for which he had so perseveringly laboured, a suitable building wherein he could carry out the directions of King Edward the Sixth and of Sir Wm. Harpur, by giving the youth of Bedford the highest class of instruction. That the greatest advantages will be freely offered to the youth of Bedford we are completely guaranteed by the fact that the responsible office of head master is held by one of the ablest school directors of the day, who was esteemed amongst his college contemporaries as a distinguished tutor and perfect gentleman. When the choice of the Warden and Fellows of New College fell upon the Rev. Frederick Fanshawe to succeed our revered friend Dr. Brereton in the head mastership, Oxford congratulated Bedford on its good fortune. Mr. Fanshawe received the appointment at a time when, from a combination of unfortunate circumstances, the fortune of the Grammar School appeared to be at its lowest ebb, but coming as he did in the prime of life, being perfectly untrammelled by any local prejudices or interests, and having in view one object—that of developing the school to the utmost—he completely revived the hopes of the friends of educa-

tion ; and the inauguration of Wednesday afforded them an opportunity of testifying how thoroughly their hopes had been realized. The hall was completely filled, and the demonstration was most enthusiastic. With great consideration and good taste the worthy head master, after modestly opening the proceedings, left the ceremonial to be performed by the scholars themselves who are the recipients of the advantages, the Warden who attended on behalf of New College (the Visitors), and the Mayor, who officially represented the Trustees of the Charity. The earnestness with which all parties joined in the demonstration showed how gladly they availed themselves of the opportunity ; and the congratulations subsequently offered to the head master must have convinced him how thoroughly he is appreciated in the high and responsible position which he occupies. There was one feature in this meeting which was peculiarly gratifying, and especially to those who have taken an active part in the public affairs of Bedford. This ceremonial for celebrating the completion of a New Grammar School was attended by the College representative, the Trustees, and the Inhabitants. The union was as complete as the rejoicing was hearty, and we accept it as an earnest of the perfect understanding and good-will which will prevail. By this happy combination the future of Bedford and its Schools may be brilliant as well as useful ; but in its absence no better fate can be expected than that which inevitably results when a " House is divided against itself."

The expense incurred in the erection of the new building was as follows :

	£	s.	d.
Preliminary law expenses.....	1050	15	9
Purchase of land and old houses	2708	4	1
The building.....	2994	2	10
	<hr/>		
	£6753	2	8
	<hr/>		

Several of the oldest inhabitants of Bedford remember very well, the schools being confined to the old building, the upper room serving for the Grammar School, and the lower for

THE COMMERCIAL SCHOOL.

In the year 1820, however, the Commercial School, which appears to have been instituted as a branch of the Grammar School, had become, so large and of such importance, as to require separate provisions. It became, therefore, necessary to remodel it by appointing a new set of masters, and by enlarging the system of instruction, so as to embrace a complete English, Mathematical, and Commercial education. Matthiason, writing in 1830, says, "The English School,* which was formerly kept in the lower apartment of the Grammar School, has been lately removed to another place, in Angel Street,† provided

* Now called "The Commercial School."

† Known now as "Lower Harpur Street."

for it (*pro tempore*) for the purpose of accommodating the increased number of pupils which the enlarged state of the town and its important advantages are rapidly sending in." In this street the present very handsome range of buildings, in the Tudor or Collegiate style of architecture, were erected in the year 1831, consisting of the Commercial, Preparatory Commercial, National, and Girl's School, as well as a Blue-coat Hospital for the board and education of boys and girls, the Tower, a Committee Room, and the Clerk's Office and House, at a cost of upwards of £25,000. Two spacious school rooms were attached to the Commercial School, in the year 1855, at a cost of £450; and a new Preparatory Commercial School has been built recently (1861) at a cost of £1,541.

The number of scholars in these Schools is (1867) as follows:—

The Grammar School	200
The Commercial School.....	330
The Preparatory Commercial School.....	250
The General Preparatory School	380
The Girl's School	500
The Infant School	320

1980

The pupils belonging to the Commercial School are instructed by a head master, a second master, six assistant masters, a drawing master, a French master, and a German master. The following extract from the 5th section of "The Schedule to the Scheme," will show the course of instruction pursued in this school:—"That the instruction to be afforded in the Commercial School shall be in mathematics, algebra, arithmetic, general English literature and composition, sacred and profane history, geography, reading, writing and also such languages, arts and sciences, as to the said trustees may from time to time seem expedient, and so as to give the boys a sound, moral, religious, and liberal education: that all the said schools shall be open, however, to children of all religious tenets, and no boy shall be required to learn the catechism of the Church of England, in case his parents or next friends shall express in writing to the trustees their objections, on conscientious grounds, to his doing so, and in all other respects care shall be taken not to offend the religious scruples of the parents or next friends of the boys."

The 9th clause of the Schedule states "That there shall be payable out of the income of the said Charity Estates, two yearly prize premiums of £50 each, to which the scholars of the Commercial School only shall be eligible; and at every such annual examination, as aforesaid, of the scholars of the said Commercial School, there shall be selected by the said examiners thereof (out of such as shall be then quitting the said school, and shall have been scholars there for the space of four years immediate preceding,) two scholars who shall be entitled to such annual sum of £50 for four years, to be paid and applied

as hereinafter mentioned, viz : That the said prize premium of £50 a year, shall in every case be applied and appropriated by the said trustees, in placing the scholar entitled thereto out as an apprentice or articulated pupil to any profession, business, or employment ; and it shall be lawful for the said trustees, for the purposes aforesaid, to pay the said sum of £50 a-year, or in lieu thereof, the sum of £200 in advance, or by such instalments as they shall in each case think fit, provided such payment or payments be not made either to the scholar himself, or to the parent, or parents of such scholar." According to the 6th clause of the Schedule, the sum of £30 may be annually distributed in "rewards and prizes to meritorious and deserving scholars" in this and the lower schools.

No scholar is allowed to compete for the prize premiums unless he shall have been in the school four years immediately preceding the election to the prize premiums.

THE PREPARATORY COMMERCIAL SCHOOL,

situated in Horne Lane, was erected, as we have already stated, in 1861, at a cost (including fencing and diversion of Horne Lane) of £1,541, it contains about 250 boys, who are taught by a head master, and six assistant masters. The head master of this school is allowed, with the consent of the trustees, to receive not exceeding twelve pupils, not otherwise having a right to be admitted to the school.

THE GENERAL PREPARATORY SCHOOL,

usually, but improperly called the National School, contains about 380 boys, who are taught by a head master and two assistant masters ; the instruction is confined in a great measure to the first elements of education. This school is conducted on the Madras system of mutual instruction by the boys themselves, which saves the master and assistant masters considerable trouble, except in the general state and discipline of the school. The master of this school, with the consent of the trustees, may receive pupils, not exceeding twelve in number, who would not otherwise have a right to be admitted to the school.

A new class room has recently been erected for this school, at a cost of £510 10s.

THE GIRLS' SCHOOL,

which is under the tuition of a head mistress, and three assistants, contains 500 scholars. If we compare the opportunities afforded for the instruction of the girls belonging to this town, with those which the boys possess, we shall certainly feel inclined to think that female education has been slighted, although it seems almost unaccountable. And it is as true now, as it was when Mathiason wrote, that "the class of girls who are in habit of attending, is seldom so high as those whose parents can afford to give them a regular education, consequently most, even of those in trade and business, whose family consists of daughters, are at an annual expenditure of a considerable sum to obtain that,

(and perhaps out of their own town) which, had they been sons, they would be entitled to receive without much expense, and under the parental eye." This writer tells us that in 1830, there were only 50 girls in this school, it however, now contains 450. The mistress of this school may (according to the Schedule to the Scheme, clause 8) with the consent of the trustees, receive pupils, not exceeding six in number, not otherwise having a right to be admitted to such school.

THE INFANT SCHOOL,

contains about 320 children, under the care of a master, who, with the consent of the trustees, may receive pupils not exceeding six in number, and not otherwise having a right to be admitted to this school.

RIGHT OF ADMISSION, APPLICATION FEES, &c.

The Bye Laws (passed at a monthly meeting of the board, held on Thursday, the 4th day of July, 1861) require, "all persons who shall in future come to settle in this town; and be desirous of sending a child to be educated in any of the Schools, to deliver to the Clerk of the Trustees, previous to admission, a certificate of the parent's marriage, and also a certificate of the child's baptism, or other sufficient evidence of its legitimacy, and of the identity of the parties described in the certificates; the said documents to be laid before the next monthly meeting of the Trustees, and approved of by them before the admission of any such child."

Certificates of registration of birth and vaccination *must* be produced at the time of making the application, or else the child cannot be admitted into any of the Schools. The Trustees require a certificate from the superintendent registrar in all cases.

The 5th clause of the "Schedule to the Scheme," says "that the right of admission to any of the said Schools, other than the General Preparatory or Girls' and Infant Schools, shall be and the same is hereby limited to the children of inhabitant householders, or deceased inhabitant householders of the said town, whose settlement, (not being a settlement acquired by purchase for pecuniary consideration) shall be in either of the parishes of the said town—that the children of inhabitant householders in the said town, not having resided in the said town for one year, shall also be admissible, on payment to the Trustees of such sum or sums, not exceeding the sum of ten guineas, as the Trustees from time to time, by any general rule or regulation, may determine for the admission of the child or children (whether one or more) of such inhabitant householders,* in addition to any other sums already made payable in respect of such admission, but such payment shall only confer the right of admission to, and continuance in the School for one year of the child or children in respect of whom, or for whose admission such payment shall be made as aforesaid; that the children of all persons permanently residing in the said town shall be admissible to the Girls', Infant, and General Preparatory Schools; that no boys shall be admitted into any of the said Schools for the first time who shall be under the age of eight years, or have attained the age of fifteen years (except in the Preparatory or Girls' or Infant School, in which children may be admitted at any age which the Trustees in their discretion shall from time to time adjudge proper and appoint), nor shall the respective Masters or Mistress be obliged to admit any child, into either of the schools, after he or she shall have quitted the same, or been removed therefrom, for the purpose of being placed out in the world, without the discretion of the said Trustees."

* The Trustees, at the present time, require the full sum of £10, which will admit a whole family.

It was resolved on the 4th of July, 1861, and passed as a Bye Law, "that in future no child be admitted into the Preparatory Commercial School who cannot read monosyllables connected in sentences; each child to procure previous to application to the Committee, a certificate from the Head Master of his possessing such qualifications."

Another Bye Law declares "that application for admission to the several Schools, or for removal from one School to another, shall be determined at the meetings in January, March, June, and September only, and the children shall be admitted at the commencement of the following quarter." Persons wishing to send their children to either of the Schools at Christmas, must therefore apply to the Committee on the Friday evening previous the first Thursday in January; at Lady-day, on the Friday evening prior to the first Thursday in April; at Midsummer, on the Friday evening preceding the first Thursday in July: and at Michaelmas, on the Friday evening before the first Thursday in October."

The Trustees also resolved "that no child be admitted into the Grammar or English Schools (excepting the National School) till a certificate of inhabitancy be produced to the satisfaction of the Board:" and "that in future all persons who are desirous of sending their children to any of the Schools of this Charity be desired to attend the Apprentice Committee for the purpose of having their claims investigated, and of obtaining an order of admission."

No scholar is allowed to continue in the Commercial School, beyond the end of the half-year in which he shall have completed his sixteenth year, without the special consent of the Trustees, obtained on the application of the parents and guardians, and the recommendation of the Master, but in this case he is not eligible to compete for the prize premiums.

In closing our remarks upon the Schools, we would address the dear old town of Bedford in the language of Montgomery, and exclaim:—

"I love Thee,—when my soul can feel
The seraph-ardours of thy zeal:
Thy charities to none confin'd,
Bless'd, like the sun, the rain, the wind;
Thy SCHOOLS the human brute shall raise,
Guide erring youth in wisdom's ways,
And leave, when we are turned to dust,
A generation of the just."

Having now finished our rather long description of the Schools, we pass on to notice the first large neat building on our left, this is

The Wesleyan Chapel,

erected in 1804, rebuilt in 1832, and enlarged in 1842. Matthiason writing in 1830, says:—"The Methodists have been established in Bedford about 50 years; and the late John Wesley, whose individual exertions in the cause mainly contributed towards it, and who was a frequent visitor in Bedford, used to observe that his doctrines would not prosper here because they met with no opposition. This may chiefly be ascribed to the secure and extensive footing which the dissenters had previously taken in the town; and who, differing more widely from the established church than the methodists, who rather view themselves in the light of reformers, than seceders, had consequently pre-occupied the ground which the more influential class of persons would naturally adopt in their separation."

The late William Cumberland, of Bedford, who died June 6, 1833, having been upwards of 40 years a Leader and Local Preacher amongst the Wesleyan Methodists, speaking of the progress of Methodism in Bedford, says :—" When I first joined the Methodists, they were in a low, dull way : about forty five in society : and so they remained for fifteen years. Mr. Joseph Harper travelled here in 1782, and left that number. After the lapse of fourteen years he was again appointed to the circuit ; when he found precisely the same number still. I began to feel uneasy, and cried earnestly to the Lord to revive His work. The Lord in His own time heard and answered. About thirty years ago, whilst Mr. Pilter was preaching, two females stood up in the congregation, and declared what God had done for their souls. Methodism in Bedford has been gradually rising ever since ; and I believe it will rise."

The Rev. John Greeves in his " Memorials of William Cumberland," states that " William, when conversing with his christian friends, frequently adverted to the period when Methodism first began to revive in Bedford ; and always expressed it to be his opinion, that the zealous and indefatigable exertions of the late Rev. John C. Leppington, mainly contributed to effect it. Mr. Leppington was appointed by the Conference of 1801, to the charge of the circuit. He was then in the vigour of his days ; he laboured for three years with persevering assiduity, in conjunction with his excellent colleagues, (the Rev. Messrs. James Burley, Benjamin Gregory, Robert Finney, Joseph Hallam, and Robert Pilter) to promote the interests of the societies ; and he did not labour in vain. At the September visitation of the classes in 1801, he found three hundred and fifty one members ; and one hundred and forty three were added during the following year : one hundred and twenty four during the next ; and at the June visitation in 1804, the total numbers were raised to eight hundred and forty-seven :—being a net increase during the three years (" exclusive of all removals, deaths, and backslidings ") of four hundred and ninety-six.

From entries made by Mr. Leppington in the society book, compared with an interesting memoir of the late Mrs. Mary Pilter, by her husband the Rev. Robert Pilter, in the Methodist Magazine for April, 1813, it appears that the revival of religion in the town of Bedford took place in January, 1804. At the preceding Conference, the number of members in the town classes amounted to forty-six only ; who were under the care of William Cumberland and another leader ; but, through the blessing of God on the labours of His servants, this number increased during the year to one hundred and eight ; and three additional leaders were appointed. The chapel, which had been occupied by the methodists for forty years, became too strait for them : but they gave substantial proof of their gratitude to God for this special visitation of his grace, in their liberal contributions towards a new and more commodious one, which was soon erected on its site. Methodism continued to prosper from that time, and the pleasing circumstance that the number of members in the town classes was never afterwards less than that which was left by Mr. Leppington, is a irrefragable proof that the word was genuine. Mr. Cumberland considered that the appointment of the Rev. Maximilian Wilson to the

circuit in 1827, was especially sanctioned by God ; and the means of raising Methodism to an elevation to which it had never before attained. Not that he underrated the labours of other valuable ministers (the predecessors of Mr. Wilson) through whose zealous efforts that which was the Bedford circuit in 1804, had since become four circuits ; the aggregate number of members in which, at the conference, 1827, amounted to sixteen hundred and fifty-five. Of this number, four hundred and eighty-four belonged to the Bedford circuit ; which were raised, through the efficient exertions of Mr. Wilson and his colleagues, during the three years of his appointment, to seven hundred and fifty. Early in 1830, William Cumberland wrote a letter to his nieces containing the following observations :—‘ We are getting on famously at Bedford, Numbers are joining the society, and such crowds flock to our prayer meetings as I never saw before.’

Results similar to those which succeeded the former revival followed this. The chapel (though it had undergone, since its erection, repeated enlargements) became far too small for the multitudes who flocked to hear. Accordingly, in 1832, the present commodious and elegant chapel, which is considerably larger than any within the same distance of the metropolis, northwards, was erected under the superintendence of the Rev. Joseph Lewis ; and opened by the Rev. Messrs. Robert Newton, Theophilus Lessey, Maxmilian Wilson, and Mr. William Dawson, (of Barnbow, near Leeds) on Friday the 5th, and Sunday the 7th of October.”

Divine service is held here on Sundays at 10. 30. a.m., and at 2 and 6 p.m. The week evening services are held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, at 7 p.m.

A few yards further, still on our left, stands an edifice, with a portico in front, supported by four fluted columns, termed

The Assembly Rooms,

or, as they are sometimes called, the BEDFORD ROOMS. In one of these Rooms on the left of the entrance is deposited

THE BEDFORDSHIRE GENERAL LIBRARY.

The object of this Library, which was formed on the 1st July, 1830, is to form a collection of the best books in every department of Science and Literature. Matthiason tells us that “it was founded by an association of the inhabitants generally, who had long felt the want and necessity of a public library, whether as a place of intellectual resort, literary and scientific reference, or as a store-house of knowledge and improvement for the rising generation ; which being so amply provided with education, was left afterwards to struggle with the business of the world, without that assistance which the opening mind requires for the development of his faculties, and consequently in a great measure to depend on chance for the discoveries and improvements connected

with practical life, which might otherwise naturally arise from talent assisted with cultivation."

Previous to the erection of these Assembly Rooms, the books were kept in part of a private building, hired for the purpose, situated near St. Mary's church. At the formation of this Society, the following resolutions, among others, were passed:—"That every subscriber of one guinea per annum, and half-a-guinea entrance fee, be considered a Member of this Society; that all annual subscriptions become due on 1st July, of each year. That the Members of this Society have no power individually or collectively, to dissolve it, or alienate any part of its property, which is invested in the hands of twelve Trustees; that when this number is reduced by deaths to five, the vacancies are to be filled up by the subscribers at a general meeting. That the General Meeting be held on the first Wednesday in August in every year, at 12 o'clock, at which a Report shall be read of the proceedings of the past year, and Treasurer and Secretary with a Committee, be chosen by ballot. And that the affairs of this Society be conducted by a Committee of 15 Members, including the Secretary and Treasurer, five forming a quorum."

THE BEDFORD LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTE, AND GENERAL LIBRARY.

The whole management of this Society, which was formed on January 1st, 1864, by an amalgamation of the above Institution and of the Literary and Scientific Institution, the control of its funds and the power of suspending or removing any of its officers and members, (subject to the control of the general body of its members) is vested in the Committee of 25 members, five of such Committee to form a quorum. The officers consist of a President, six Vice-presidents, two Secretaries, and two Auditors, who are elected annually in January.

Annual subscriptions of one guinea, entitle members to the use of the news room and library throughout the day; subscriptions of ten shillings, paid yearly or quarterly, to the use of the news room daily from 6 p.m. to 10 p.m., and of the library on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. Number of subscribers, about 800.

The Reading Room is supplied with the following Papers:—*Times* (two copies), *Morning Post*, *Daily News*, *Standard*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Evening Star*, *Examiner*, *Illustrated London News*, *Illustrated Times*, *Athenæum*, *Saturday Review*, *London Review*, *Field*, *Army and Navy Gazette*, *Bedford Times*, *Bedfordshire Mercury*, &c.

The Library contains about 10,000 volumes, embracing nearly all the most valuable modern works in science, history, fiction, and general literature. On the tables are placed the chief periodicals of the day—viz., the *Quarterly Review*, *Edinburgh Review*, *Gentlemen's Magazine*, *Popular Science Review*, *Intellectual Observer*, *Cornhill*, *Fraser*, *Blackwood*, *Once-a-week*, *Macmillan*,

All the Year Round, Musical Times, &c. The advantages which this institute offers (considering its moderate subscription), are not surpassed, if equalled, by any similar library in the kingdom: the large and handsome Reading Room is well supplied with the best Magazines and Reviews; and the fine collection of folios and quartos, which, originally belonged to St. John's Church, and were afterwards kept in St. Paul's Church, are deposited in this library, and, together with a number of very rare books, are accessible to its subscribers.

The following paragraph which appeared as a Note in Hankin's account of the Public Charities of Bedford, published in 1828, affords some interesting information relating to the Library then deposited over the north side of the chancel of St. Paul's Church, which contained many useful and curious old works, but which was then very little used:—

“This Library was first established in the year 1700, by the contribution of gentlemen and clergy of the town and county. It was formerly kept in St. John's parish church, in this town, from whence the books were removed to their present situation, that church having no convenient place for keeping them, there being not even a vestry room. It does not now seem to be generally known, and has fallen almost into disuse; but in it there are upwards of 700 volumes, and among them, the Polyglot Bible, and appendix, (a copy of this work was sold for 70 guineas in this county); Fuller's Worthies of England, Holy War, Fuller's Holy State, Camden's Britannia, Burnett's History of the Reformation, Augustini Opera, 11 vols., Baronii Annales, 12 vols. and its continuation; Ten Precepts, (black letter), Du Pin's Eccl. History, (presented by dame Elizabeth, widow of William Hillersdon, Esq., of Elstow, and afterwards the wife of Sir Thomas Becher, of Howbury, in this county); Lexicon Heptaglotton, written by Dr. Castrel, rector of Higham Gobion, Beds.; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, besides many other useful and scarce Works and Tracts. Also the Parliamentary Debates from the Reformation, (1668, to the year 1741,) and two Roman *Missals*, in good preservation, one dated Paris, 1510, the other, Paris, 1664, (both presented to the Library, by Ralph Smith, Esq., of Islip, Oxfordshire). The Archdeacon of the Diocese, the Rev. H. K. Bonney, has suggested that the Library should be kept up, and added to from time to time, for its original intention, viz. the use of the Gentry and Clergy of the town and county, which it is hoped may be carried into effect; and that he will shortly communicate his proposed plan, for its future management. It is now under the care of the Vicar, the Rev. J. Donne, who is very obliging in granting permission to persons wishing to have the use of it, for the purpose of reading any of the works.”

The Library is open daily from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m., and on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays to 10 p.m., and is available after 6 p.m. to both daily and evening subscribers.

On the written recommendation of a member, either of the Secretaries or the Librarian receives temporary subscribers, not permanently resident in Bedford, at 2s.6d. per calendar month. A list of such subscribers, with the dates on which they entered, is kept posted up in the Library. No book or publication presented to the Library is laid upon the table, or accepted for circulation by the Librarian, until it has been approved by the Committee. Visitors are introduced only for one week. Two auditors are appointed by the general body of subscribers at the annual meeting, for the purpose of auditing the annual accounts.

BEDFORDSHIRE ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The first room on the right, as we enter the Assembly Rooms belongs to this Society, which was established in 1847, under the patronage of the Bishop of the diocese, for the promotion of a pure and enlightened taste in Ecclesiastical Architecture,—for the correct restoration of our churches,—for the preservation of the monuments and remains of former ages,—and for the diffusion of information on the subjects of architecture and archæology generally. Members are entitled to the use of the library, and receive gratuitously all works published by the society, as well as the Annual Volume of Reports and Papers read before the Associated Societies of Northampton, York, Lincoln, Bedford, and Worcester. Meetings are held at half-past 2 o'clock, on the third Tuesday in every month, at the Society's rooms. Subscriptions (10s. 6d. per annum) are due on the 1st of January in each year, and are received at the Bank of Messrs. Barnard, Bedford.

THE SAVING'S BANK,

connected with these Rooms, and open for the reception of deposits every Saturday from 12 to 1, and on Wednesdays 6 to 7, was established on the 4th of May, 1816. It is under the control of 12 Trustees, 84 Managers, a Treasurer (Thos. Barnard, Esq.), and a Secretary (Mr. Francis Trapp). From the general statement made on the 20th November, 1866, and signed by two of the Trustees and the Secretary on the 21st January 1867, it appeared that there were 2600 persons with balances (including interest) varying from below £1 to above £200, 85 Charitable Societies, 3 Penny Banks, and 73 Friendly Societies, having deposits in this Bank, that the sum of £20,033 12s. 5d. had been paid, by principal and interest, to the depositors in the year ending Nov. 20th, 1866, balance due to depositors 1866, £98,369 8s. 2½d.; and that the total expense of the management of the bank, during the year was £218 11s. 1d.

Leaving the Assembly Rooms the same way by which we entered, and passing to the end of Harpur Street we come to a very ancient and fine old edifice, the venerable, ecclesiastical, and formerly collegiate

Church of St. Paul.

The churchyard, as the Visitor will quickly perceive, has several entrances; the chief of which are those at the south-west and north-west angles, and consist of square pillars supporting urns on the top, and having an open iron gate.

This church which is the principal in the town, is a spacious and handsome Gothic structure, of the fifteenth century, consisting of a double nave and double chancel, over which rises a fine square tower, supported on massive arches and surmounted by a lofty octagonal spire, at the top of which is a weather-cock of very large dimensions. This large and venerable looking building may be seen at a great distance from the town to which it is certainly a very great ornament. Some persons think that St. Paul's church was originally a small Norman cross church, of which the late tower formed a part; but Parry and others have stated that it did not appear to them in that light.

History informs us that there was, long before the Norman Conquest, a collegiate church in Bedford dedicated to St. Paul; and Parry informs us that the "Canonici de Bedeford" are mentioned in Domesday book next to the "Canonici de Lundun." But whether it stood on or near the spot occupied by the present church, or not, cannot now be ascertained. Turner tells us that the present edifice does *not* stand upon the same site as the former: he seems to think that the church was adjacent to the Castle. As a reason for his making the above statement, he mentions that Faukes de Breaute is said to have pulled down the Church of St. Paul, in order to rebuild, fortify, and enlarge the castle. The general opinion, however, is that the old church *did* stand, or at least *might* have stood in St. Paul's square, and it appears to us that Faukes wanted *materials* and not the *site* of the church.

Rohesia or Roisia, wife of Paganus de Bello Campo, or Pain de Beauchamp at sometime between the years 1148 and 1170, changed the prebendaries of St. Paul's, into Black or Regular Canons. This church continued to be collegiate until the prebendaries were removed to Newenham, in the adjoining parish of Goldington, about a mile from Bedford, by the side of the river, in the reign of Henry II, by Simon de Beauchamp, the son of Roisia. From this circumstance, Simon was considered by them as their founder, and as the following paragraph will show, was so styled on his tomb, which in Leland's time existed in the present church of St. Paul, having been removed, no doubt, from the ancient collegiate church, which was pulled down by King John:—"Simon de Beauchamp," says Leland, "conformid and performid the acte of his mother; he lieth afore the high altare of St. Paul's church in Bedeforde, with this inscription graven on brass and sette on a flat stone:—

"De Bello Campo jacet hoc sub marmore Simon
Fundator de Newenham." *

* Translation—Under this marble lies Simon of Beauchamp, Founder of Newnham.

No one, now, seems to know when the present antique, though highly ornamental building was erected. From Parry we learn that the church was demolished about 1220, when the Norman style was going out, and there are no specific indications of the late tower being spared, which was somewhat heavy and plain, but afforded no proofs of Norman architecture. There may certainly, have been a northern building, transept or chantry, but this "says nothing." There may, too, have been three successive churches, or it may have lain in ruins for a century. On the age of the present church Lysons and Rickman differ: the former always respectable; the latter ingenious, but perhaps more fanciful. It was probably erected about 1350 or 1400. But on a map which belonged to Mr. Gough, older than 1290, Bedford appears to have had a spire. The peculiarity of this church consists in having two aisles, which may be called a double nave, of equal and considerable height, and nearly exactly equal width, with a double tier of windows on both sides, which gives it a peculiar appearance. It has also pinnacles, two fine west windows, and two porches, of which the southern one has two stories with statues, and is the record room of the Corporation. The extreme length of the church from east to west is 147 feet, (the second length in the county, only exceeded at Luton), and the breadth 45 feet. The *roof* is supported in the middle by five arches on lofty clustered pillars; and the whole is surrounded by a double band of foliated carved work. Projecting over each pillar is a turret corbel bearing a shield, on which stands the carved figure of a saint having at his feet a stork, which is the general emblem of piety. These figures support the principal beams. The intermediate beams, over the points of the arches, are also ornamented with smaller figures; and the cross beams in the middle are ornamented at each intersection, alternately, with a figure and a flowery cross. The *pulpit* which is attached to the second pillar from the east, is of solid stone, octagonal, and ornamented with handsome gilt Gothic tracery in a fine and solid style. The body or *nave* consists of two lofty and spacious aisles of equal height and dimensions, which are divided by five pointed arches, resting on lofty and light clustered columns. On the south wall of the nave is painted a recumbant figure of King Charles I. under an open canopy, by the side of which are inscribed some very indifferent lines, respecting his trial and execution. On the east end of the north side, stands the *tower*, which supports an octagonal stone *spire*, the height of which is about 137 feet, the tower contains a fine peal of of eight *bells*, the tenor bell weighing 28 cwt. The tower also contains a large, handsome and excellent *clock*, having four faces, each being 24 feet in circumference; this clock cost £400 and was added to the church in 1812.

The two spacious *chancels* are of unequal dimensions and are divided by two very acute arches, with clustered columns. The south chancel, which contains some fine modern monuments is used as the Archdeacon's court at the regular visitations. The monument which will perhaps first attract attention is that of Thomas Hawes and other members of his family, who were all benefactors to the poor of this town, it bears the date of 1689. On looking over the door, we find a handsome monument to the memory of John Peck, Gent., who was a magistrate and three times Mayor of Bedford, and who

died in 1713. Besides these, this chancel contains an altar tomb erected to the memory of Sir William Harpur,* with the effigies of himself and his last wife, and bearing the following inscription:—

"Obiit 27^o die Februarii 1573. Ano ætatis suæ 77^o.

"Here under lieth buried the body of Sir William Harper, knight, Alderman and late Lord Maior of the citie of London, withe Dame Margaret his last Wife. Sir William was born in this towne of Bedford, and here founded and gave land for the maintenance of a Grammar School."

On the wall above, was a tablet, which has been removed, and a more modern and handsome one (having on it medallions of himself and his wife Dame Alice, his arms and knight's helmet emblazoned, and a long inscription) has been erected near the tower in 1796, by the Trustees of the Harpur Charity. This tomb bears the following inscription:—

"Sacred to the Memory of
"Sir WILLIAM HARPUR, Knight,
"A native of this place, and in 1561, was
"Lord Mayor of London, and of
"Dame ALICE his Wife

"Who by their virtue and industry, and God's blessing upon both, acquired an ample fortune, which, joynd with a beneficent mind, both disposed and enabled them to communicate their Benevolence to mankind in general.

"Their peculiar charity and munificence to this town in particular, where in the infancy of the Reformation, they by Royal Charter erected a Protestant Free School for the education of youth in Grammar, Learning and good Manners; and in the pure and genuine principles of the reformed religion.

"This Pious Foundation they originally endowed with land situated in London, which by many fine and stately Buildings, since erected on it, is now increased to a large estate: the revenues whereof afford an ample provision for the Master, Usher, and Boys; a large Surplus also for other Charitable Exhibitions in this Town.

* In 1848, Mr. John Merridew, of Coventry, published "A Catalogue of Engraved Warwickshire Portraits of Nobility, Gentry, Clergymen, and others, born, resident, in or connected with the County of Warwick, alphabetically arranged, with the names of the Painters and Engravers, and the size of each Plate: to which are added numerous Biographical Notices." 4to. This work was reviewed in the Gentleman's Magazine, January, 1849; and from that review we have made the following extract:—

"One of the *rarest* portraits of the collection, though one of the humblest in point of art, is that of Sir Thomas Leigh, an ancestor of the Lords Leigh of Stoneleigh, which is thus described:—'There are two engraved portraits of Sir Thomas Leigh. The first is a unique print, an octavo woodcut, the first of a series of all the Lord Mayors of London during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The set belonged to Sir John St. Aubyn, and was purchased at his sale in 1840, for the Honble. Thomas Grenville, for £29 8s. It is now with his library in the British Museum. The second print is a copy of the preceding.' It should be mentioned with reference to this set of Lord Mayors, of which it is very remarkable that only one copy should be preserved, that Granger remarks that some of the wood blocks serve for several Mayors, and that this circumstance brings in question the authenticity of their portraits. Richardson made a copy of two of them, Sir Thomas Leigh and Sir William Harper, who were the Mayors of 1558 and 1561, and being so early in the series, which extends to the Lord Mayor of 1601, (that is, within two years of the whole of Elizabeth's reign), it may be known how far they are genuine."

*stand-
copies
Lord M-
year 1601
doubtful*

"The Mayor and other Gentlemen who are Trustees for this Estate and dispensers of this Charity, and who 'tis hoped will ever continue to discharge this sacred trust agreeable to the spirited design of their munificent Benefactors, have in a grateful sense of their benefits caus'd this Monument to be erected, that the influence of their example may follow the respect done to their memory.

"And their good name, which the wise man compares to precious Oyntment, may for ever retain and communicate its Fragrancy after their bodies (here interr'd) have been long since in noisomness and corruption.

"Non sibi sed Bono Publico."

The floor of the north chancel is nearly paved with the tombs of vicars of the church, some of the inscriptions upon which are very elegant. This chancel, which is very antique and venerable in its appearance, contains twenty old curiously carved stalls, made of polished oak: it has also seats on each side, which no doubt were made for the chantry belonging to the original collegiate foundation. On the north side of the altar is an altar tomb, divested of its brass, which has been supposed by some to be that of Simon de Beauchamp, the Founder of Newnham Abbey; others however, seem to think that there is no ground upon which this supposition may be based. On the north wall is a monument of grey marble with two Composite pillars, erected in memory of Thomas Christie Esqre., and his wives Alicia and Anna; this gentleman was a member of parliament for Bedford, and being possessed of the great tithes of the parish of St. Paul gave them, in the year 1697, to the vicar and his successors, subject to the payment of the small weekly allowance of one shilling to each of eight poor and aged widows, living in eight brick cottages nearly opposite the County Jail, known as the *Old Alms Houses*, of which he was the Founder. This monument bears the date of 1697. On the south wall is an effigy of Andrew Dennys, in a pulpit between Corinthian pilasters, vested in canonicals, with a large ruff; he was a former vicar of this church, and rector of St. John's, where it is said he was buried. There is a long Latin eulogium of his merits, in gilt letters, but it is now nearly obliterated. A long and narrow slab is to be seen on the middle of the floor, having an inscription in Old rhyming French in Gothic letters, to the memory of Muriel Calt,* which in modern characters stands as follows:—

MURIEL. CALT. GYT. ISSI. DE. SA. ALME. DEUS. EUEYT.
MERCY. KY. POR. SA. ALME. PRIERA. XL. IOURS. DE
PARDUN. AUERA.

It may be thus translated, in about the same style as the original:—

Muriel Calt doth rest below,
God on his soul his mercy show;
Whoe'er will pray his soul to save,
Shall forty days indulgence have.

* In Speed's Plan, the lane which still runs parallel with the side of the school, is termed *Calt's Lane*.—Parry.

Parry translates the inscription as follows:—

Muriel Calt here doth lie,
God of her soul have mercy.
Whoever for her soul prays
Shall pardon have of forty days.

Adjoining the chancel, on the north side of it, is the vestry, in a room over which was formerly kept a library, consisting of about 1,000 volumes on various subjects, but principally on theology and ecclesiastical history. This library, which was bequeathed to the town about the commencement of the eighteenth century, was originally kept in St. John's church, but for want of a proper place it was afterwards deposited in this apartment, whence it was finally removed to the Assembly Rooms.

From every appearance of the church, it is no doubt similar now to what it was in the original state. The church has battlements and pinnacles throughout; and two fine *porches*. The south porch which is lofty, has two small statues of St. Peter and St. Paul, in niches, with handsome canopies. The *empty niche* of the same kind over the porch on the north side is believed to have contained the statue of the Virgin Mary, which Matthiason thinks "was probably demolished in the wreck which the zeal of the Reformation inflicted on all those images of which such a superstitious veneration was prescribed by the Catholic Church." The church possesses a light and lofty appearance, the north and south sides having a double tier of windows. The lower windows are large and seem to have been originally handsome, but they have been modernized in a bad style and the greater part of their tracery is entirely gone. At the west end, opposite the aisles are two large and handsome windows of the Gothic tracery, in an excellent state of preservation. The church has a gallery of wainscot on iron pillars all round, except in the centre of the southern side, where the state pew of the corporation is situated. This pew is handsomely made of polished wainscot; over the Mayor's seat, which occupies the centre, is a beautiful canopy, supported by two fluted Corinthian pilasters, and bearing the Arms of the Town emblazoned.

In 1832, the church was somewhat altered, and in 1849, it underwent the process of re-roofing; as will be seen from the following extract from the Gentlemen's Magazine, June 1849:—"In the year 1832 the church was 'improved,' or altered. The neat wainscot fronts of the galleries, which are suitably large for the population of the parish, were retained, but the square fluted pilasters have been replaced by very slender iron ones, which is a very poor change. The fine and distinguishing traceried stone pulpit fixed to a pillar, a real old one before a single modern imitation had been made, has been banished to the chancel. Some loose benches in the very centre of the church, instead of free pews, are a perfect abomination. Yet the worst of all relates to the Organ. This was a fine old one, date 1715, by Father Schmidt, afterwards improved; and, in lieu of being repaired or enlarged, it was sold for £50.—about the price of the case! The "Moravians," who have an estab-

ishment, here, had the good sense, to appreciate its worth, and in their chapel, though reduced, it is much admired. The substitute here is perhaps quite equal to the price—£400 only—by Flight and Robson. This is now placed at the east, in lieu of the west, end, which possibly may be an improvement, as also the altered place of the pulpit may be, only it is not the proper pulpit, which may yet be returned. The tracery of the chancel windows has been restored of late years. There is no probability of this church having possessed, or being intended to possess, a third (north) aisle of the same dimensions, although the point has been mooted. Amongst very few churches (if any) on the same plan, there is one approaching to it on a smaller scale, but with a fine roof to one of the aisles, at Ruthin, North Wales. At Reading the aisles are not similar, or equal. There is however as little resemblance in St. Helen's Bishopsgate. This church (St. Paul's) is now undergoing the process of re-roofing, some of the ornamental work being fit to be replaced; and it is satisfactory to add that it will be re-leaded instead of being reduced to a covering of slate. It was fortunate that the discovery was made in time, as the ends of the main beams were more decayed than the centres. When these lay in the churchyard, part of the wood appeared rotted to the consistence of snuff. The columns in the interior are of so hard a stone, that a workman was engaged, many years ago, three weeks, in boring a hole through one, for a special purpose. In the part south of the tower, which shows signs of former painting and gilding in its roof, is the substantial mural monument erected to Sir William Harpur and his "dame" or lady Alice, and an altar tomb has since been placed over their grave, at the Archdeacon's Court in the south chancel. The four lofty and conspicuous dials of the clock—a new one, erected in 1812 at a cost of £400—are becoming much more venerable in appearance than useful, and, as the expense of regilding would most likely not exceed £50, it would be better undertaken at once. A plan for lighting the clock was ineffectual several years back, about the same time that a correspondent of the Times recommended the Janus-like projecting one of Bow church Cheapside, to be illuminated, which would have been very useful."

In the church-yard is the tomb of a couple, "Shadrach and Patience Johnson," who had 24 children.

But we must pass on to speak of the late Restoration of this church. For many years past the desire had very generally and widely prevailed that the Parish Church of St. Paul's should be restored to a state becoming the important position which it occupies, as the Metropolitan Church of the County and Archdeaconry. The church where the Judges of Assize are accustomed to attend—where the claims of the great Church Societies and County Institutions are advocated—Visitations and Confirmations held—where the muniments of the Bedford Corporation are deposited; which is the scene also of its public ceremonies, and in short has been identified for centuries with the ecclesiastical, civil, and municipal history of the Borough and County. Its condition at that time may be very briefly described. Both its large chancels and the area under the tower were shut off from communication with the nave, the Communion Table

was hidden from the Congregation, and an ample space, which would otherwise have been available for seating the parishioners, rendered useless. The spacious interior, thus curtailed and marred in its fine proportions, was unfitted for the decent celebration of the Church's beautiful ritual—whilst for her solemn and imposing Ceremonials, such as Confirmations and Visitations; or for the Choral and Festival gatherings, those public united acts of praise and thanksgiving, (striking outward expressions in our day of her revived energies)—its utter unsuitableness was grievously manifest. Altogether it had long been felt, that the internal aspect of St. Paul's thus blocked up—its windows stript of their tracery, and its limited area encumbered with a diversity of pews, their backs, in the majority of instances, turned upon the Communion Table—however faithful a reflection it might have given of the Church's state in her most torpid epoch,—was yet an anachronism in the middle of the nineteenth century, pointed at by visitors and strangers as a reproach to our community—still a number of causes concurred to delay any effort for its restoration. Amongst them were the structural difficulties to be overcome, and the magnitude of the task involved in a thorough reparation of the fabric. The undertaking was also deemed too large for the parishioners alone and unaided to carry out. Moved by the latter consideration, a few of the parishioners who felt anxious to give an impulse to the work of restoration, were induced to address them—in the first instance to the County, feeling convinced that unless its co-operation could be obtained, it would be hopeless to proceed further. An appeal was made by them to His Grace the Duke of Bedford, which met at once with the most courteous reception; and, after a careful examination of the plans and estimates, so liberal a promise of support was given that they were encouraged to prosecute their efforts with renewed boldness. They had the gratification a little later of securing the adhesion and valued co-operation of Mr. Whitbread; and from this stage their task became comparatively easy. From every quarter of the County a generous response resulted to their solicitations for subscriptions and personal aid; and in the town, the same readiness and desire to aid in the good work was soon experienced. An influential Committee was therefore formed, on which a number of the principal noblemen and gentlemen resident in the County and Borough, consented to act as a General Committee for the Restoration of St. Paul's.

To carry out the Architect's plans, as accepted by the General Committee, a sum of from £6000 to £7000 was required, and it was resolved at their first Meeting, a Report of which is annexed, that a considerable portion of the amount having been already promised, the work should be commenced immediately the remainder should have been raised.

The first meeting of the General Committee for the restoration of St. Paul's Church, Bedford, was held at the Shire Hall, on Thursday, April the 14th, 1865. The chair was taken by W. H. Whitbread, Esq., of Southill Park. The following members of the Committee were present: Thos. Barnard, Esq., Cople House; C. L. Higgins, Esq., Turvey Abbey; His Worship the Mayor of Bedford; Rev. Dr. Mountain, Rural Dean, Prebendary of Lincoln; Rev. W.

B. Russell, Rural Dean ; Rev. C. C. Beaty-Pownall, Rural Dean ; Rev. J. W. C. Campion ; Rev. F. Fanshawe ; Rev. J. Haddock ; Rev. W. G. Fitzgerald, Vicar, and Rev. T. W. Bray, Curate of St. Paul's ; Mr. J. M. Cuthbert, churchwarden ; Mr. S. E. Barnes, of Highbury ; Dr. Barker ; Messrs. G. Hurst, Pearse, H. Sharpin, Wicks, Trapp, Nall.

Letters (regretting their inability to attend) were also received from the following gentlemen ; Col. Gilpin, M.P. ; S. Whitbread, Esq., M.P. ; Colonel Stuart, M.P., Col. Higgins, Capt. Polhill-Turner, Rev. H. J. Williams, and Rev. E. R. Williamson.

The following resolutions were passed :—

I.—That the present condition of St. Paul's Church renders it highly desirable that steps should be at once taken with a view to its complete repair and restoration.

II.—That to carry out such restoration a considerable expenditure must necessarily be incurred, towards which a sum of about £4,000 has been already promised ; and that it is most important an effort should be made without delay to procure additional subscriptions in the town and county.

III.—That Mr. R. Palgrave, jun., be appointed architect.

IV.—That a working Committee be now appointed to carry out the objects contemplated, consisting of the following members, with power to add to their number :—His Lordship, the Bishop of Ely ; Mr. W. H. Whitbread, Mr. T. Barnard, The Vicar, The Mayor and Mr. Cuthbert (churchwardens), Col. Higgins, Mr. C. L. Higgins, Rev. Dr. Mountain, Rev. J. W. C. Campion, Mr. Barnes, Rev. F. Fanshawe, Rev. W. B. Russell, Rev. C. C. Beaty-Pownall, Mr. Couchman, Mr. Williams, Mr. Jas. Pearse, Rev. G. A. Burnaby, Mr. Nall, Mr. Trapp, Rev. H. J. Rose, Rev. T. W. Bray, Rev. R. W. Fitzpatrick, and Mr. Hurst.

V.—That Mr. Palgrave's plan marked D shall be substantially the method of restoration adopted (subject to such modifications as may be agreed upon by the Building Committee), provided a sufficient sum can be obtained to carry it out.

VI.—That the thanks of this meeting be given to W. H. Whitbread, Esq., for his kindness in taking the chair.

CEREMONY OF LAYING THE FIRST STONE BY THE LADY ADINE COWPER.

DIVINE SERVICE.

The important and deeply interesting ceremony of laying the first stone of the new tower and spire of St. Paul's Church, took place on Wednesday, May 23, 1866. But previous to that, divine service was held in the nave of the

edifice, commencing at half-past eleven. At that time there was a large congregation, consisting chiefly of the élite of the town and neighbourhood. The Mayor and Corporation, in their robes, accompanied by the borough members, Mr. Thomas Barnard, and other gentlemen, and preceded by the Rev. H. Temple, of Coventry, the Rev. M. F. Sadler, vicar, and the Rev. S. F. Bridge, curate, went in procession from the Council Chamber to the church. The service, which was fully choral, was then proceeded with, the vicar reading the prayers, and the curate reading the lessons. The chants and hymns, which were appropriate to the occasion, were well rendered by a full choir.

The sermon was preached by the Rev. H. Temple, who selected for his text, Psalm cii. 14, Prayer Book version,—“Thy servants think upon her stones, and it pitieth them to see her in the dust.”

LAYING THE STONE.

At the conclusion of the sermon a collection was made, after which a procession was formed of the clergymen, the Mayor and Corporation, and the congregation, which, passing through the partition door, and coming into the space between the portions of the building as divided by the removal of part of the wall on both sides to make way for the transept, they approached the spot where the first stone was in readiness to be laid, at the north-east tower pier. It is deserving of notice that the arrangements were of the most complete description. The stone which was the object of the day's interest was surrounded by a square enclosure, within which Lady Adine Cowper was conducted by her brother, Earl Cowper, Lord Lieutenant. Within this enclosure were also the clergymen, the architect and the clerk of the works. Just outside were the Mayor and Corporation. For the reception of the ladies present a neat gallery had been erected within that part of the old building hitherto known as the chancel, and when they were seated, their appearance added greatly to the brilliancy of the scene.

There was a very large number of spectators present forming one irregular body, and, with the old building and the array of scaffolding made up a most remarkable scene, which was favoured with the sheen of an unclouded sun.

Prayer having been offered up by the Vicar, the architect presented the Lady Adine Cowper with a silver trowel, which her ladyship courteously received and proceeded to put into use. With skilfulness and an easy, graceful style, which seemed quite natural to her, she spread a layer of mortar thin and smoothly on the spot which was to receive the stone, which was then lowered; the mallet having been handed to her she struck it two or three times on the stone, which was then proved by her with the level.

The Lady Adine Cowper then said: I declare this stone to be well and truly laid in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

A bottle containing a memorial on parchment (the contents of which we subjoin), a copy of *The Times*, and several current coins of the realm were then placed in a cavity of the stone, and closed up.

The following hymn was then sung by the choir :—

Christ is made the sure Foundation,
 Christ the Head and Corner-stone,
 Chosen of the Lord, and precious,
 Binding all the Church in one,
 Holy Sion's help for ever,
 And her confidence alone.

All that dedicated city,
 Dearly loved of God on high,
 In exultant jubilation,
 Pours perpetual melody :
 God the One in Three adoring,
 In glad hymns eternally.

To this Temple, where we call thee,
 Come, O Lord of Hosts, to-day :
 With thy wonted loving-kindness,
 Hear Thy servants, as they pray ;
 And thy fullest benediction
 Shed within its walls away.

Here vouchsafe to all thy servants
 What they ask of thee to gain,
 What they gain from Thee for ever,
 With the blessed to retain,
 And hereafter in Thy glory
 Evermore with Thee to reign.

Praise and honour to the Father,
 Praise and honour to the Son,
 Praise and honour to the Spirit,
 Ever Three, and ever One,
 One in might, and One in glory,
 While eternal ages run. Amen.

Prayer was again offered up by the Vicar, who brought the ceremony to a close by pronouncing the benediction.

Three hearty cheers were given by the assembly, which, after taking a parting glance at the stone, gradually dispersed.

Engraved on the trowel, surmounted by a crest, and enclosed within an ornate border, were these words :—

PRESENTED TO
 LADY ADINE COWPER,
 ON THE OCCASION OF
 LAYING THE
 FOUNDATION STONE OF THE TOWER AND SPIRE OF
 ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, BEDFORD.
 MAY 23RD, 1866.

The mallet and level were made of the wood of beams taken down with the portion of the building which was removed for the new tower and spire. The stone laid is a very large one, and will form the base of the north-east pillar of the tower.

As a copy of the memorial placed in the stone, and alluded to above, we append the following :—

“ Built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself, being the chief corner-stone.

“ This stone, being the first stone of the new tower and spire of St. Paul's Church, Bedford, was laid on Wednesday, May 23, in the year of our Lord 1866, by the Lady Adine Cowper, in the presence of her brother, the Earl Cowper, Lord Lieutenant of the County, the Mayor and Corporation of Bedford, the members of Parliament for the borough, and others.

“ The church of St. Paul, Bedford, had long needed restoration and enlargement. The supports of the old tower and spire, which stood in the same place as that of which the first stone was laid this day, being very large and unsightly, so separated the chancel from the naves that Divine Service could not be celebrated according to the due order of the Church of England. In addition to this, more accommodation was urgently required, especially for the poor, of whom the parish contained a very large number, and for whose use not above sixty sittings were provided in the old fabric. A committee for the restoration and enlargement of the church was formed, and, after much consideration, a plan of restoration and enlargement, furnished by Robert Palgrave, Esq., architect, of Westminster Chambers, was fixed upon and submitted to the parish vestry, and unanimously adopted by them, on the 28th January, 1865. According to this plan the tower and spire are to be rebuilt in their original position on larger arches, a transept, and north aisle extending from the vestry and north porch, are to be thrown out ; the naves of the church to be re-seated and various other improvements to be carried out. The taking down of the old tower and spire was commenced at Christmas, 1865, and the piers supporting it were found to be in so bad a condition that their removal was urgently required.

“ The Committee formed to carry out this good work, consists of the following :—W. H. Whitbread, Esq., the Lord Bishop of Ely, Earl Cowper (Lord Lieutenant), Colonel Higgins, Thomas Barnard, Esq., A. W. Peel, Esq., Captain Polhill-Turner, C. L. Higgins, Esq., the Rev. J. H. B. Mountain, D.D., the Rev. C. C. Beaty-Pownall, the Rev. H. J. Rose, the Rev. J. W. C. Campion, the Rev. W. G. Fitz Gerald, the Rev. G. A. Burnaby, the Rev. F. Fanshawe, the Rev. H. Le Mesurier, the Rev. T. W. Bray, curate, Mr. John M. Cuthbert, churchwarden, Mr. James Howard, ex-churchwarden, Mr. John Trapp, Mr. Robert Couchman, Mr. W. Williams, Mr. George Hurst, Mr. James Pearse, Mr. H. W. Sharpin, Mr. W. Wicks, Mr. J. G. Nall, Mr. W. M. Dawson, Mr. F. Thompson, Mr. S. E. Barnes, Mr. J. Bull, senior.

"Robert Palgrave, architect; the Messrs. Myer, of London, contractors; Mr. Horsman, overseer of works; the Rev. M. F. Sadler, vicar; Rev. S. F. Bridge, curate; Mr. John M. Cuthbert and Mr. Robert Couchman, churchwardens; Thomas Fitzhugh, clerk."

Through the admirable arrangements, everything passed off most satisfactorily, and in the most orderly manner.

After this, the works went on briskly, except when interrupted occasionally by the severe frosts and heavy gales of last winter. Notwithstanding such drawbacks, however, it is satisfactory to state that the climax was reached on Monday, April 29th, 1867, when the top-stone was fixed by Mr. Robert Bridcut, of the Old George Inn, and on Tuesday, the old weathercock, repaired and regilded, was placed on its spindle by Mr. Palgrave, the architect. The spindle and scroll iron surmounting the apex are all new, and from below appear very unique and symmetrical.

On looking at so much of the new buildings as has been completed, the whole appears very substantial and executed in a workmanlike manner. The clustered columns of the arches supporting the tower and spire are of Portland stone, being 31 feet in height from the ground line of the church to the soffit of the arches, above which is the stone corbling supporting the ringer's floor, and higher up are the clock and bell chambers, also supported by corblings of Portland stone. The height of the tower from the floor line is 81 feet 6 inches the internal dimensions being 25 feet 8 inches the square, or upwards of 102 feet in circumference. The massive north and south transept 5 light windows are very large and extremely handsome, and the north and south transept arches, as well as those of the north and south nave, together with that leading into the chancel, are all of solid stone, 3 feet 6 inches thick, with, neatly clustered columns. The openings of the arches are 15 feet 8 inches each, with moulded capitals, the springs of the arches of solid stone being 6 feet above caps. The length of the interior of transepts and tower is 96 ft., and the width 19 feet 6 inches, which will make room for 134 additional sittings.

In speaking of the spire, it may be mentioned that it was considered desirable, as far as practicable, to maintain the original appearance of the old spire, the stones of which, as many of them as were of any service, were replaced in the new one, the deficiency being supplied by new Bath stone. The height of the new spire, from the top of the tower to the apex, is 78 feet 11 inches, the spindle, scroll iron, and weathercock, being 6 feet more, making the total height of the new tower and spire from the floor line 167 feet, or 30 feet higher than the old one.

Divine service is performed here every Sunday at 11 a.m. and 6.30 p.m. Daily at 8 in the summer and 8.30 in the winter, on Holy-days at 11 o'clock, and on Wednesday evenings full choral service with lecture, at 7.30 o'clock.

Adjacent to St. Paul's Churchyard, on the north side of it, and towards the east end, stands

The Corn Exchange,

Which was built in 1849, through the exertions of the late Charles Higgins, Esq., then Mayor of Bedford, who, having deemed the convenience of merchants meeting together as worthy of his attention, set to work, and with the help of others, succeeded in raising £2000, for which sum this elegant building has been erected on the New Market Hill, in (as it were) the very heart of the town. This building is opened every Saturday from 12 to 2, the price of admission being 2d., or by Annual tickets, 5s.

Opposite to the south-west entrance to St. Paul's church on the south side of the square, stands

The Shire Hall,

Known also as *The Town Hall* or *Sessions House*, a capacious and neat though rather heavy looking structure erected in 1753, in which the Assizes, the Quarter Sessions, the Petty Sessions, County Court, and various other public meetings are held.

When the town gaol, which stood formerly on the bridge, was taken down in or about the year 1765, a temporary gaol was fitted up under the Town Hall, until a new gaol had been built in St. Loyes. But of these we shall have occasion to speak by and by.

Leaving this building on our right we pass on to the east side of the square, which is bounded by High Street; turning to the right, we pass a fine looking set of shops, together with the *Post Office* and *Bank* (belonging to Messrs. Barnard, Barnard, & Wing)—known as the *Bank Buildings*.

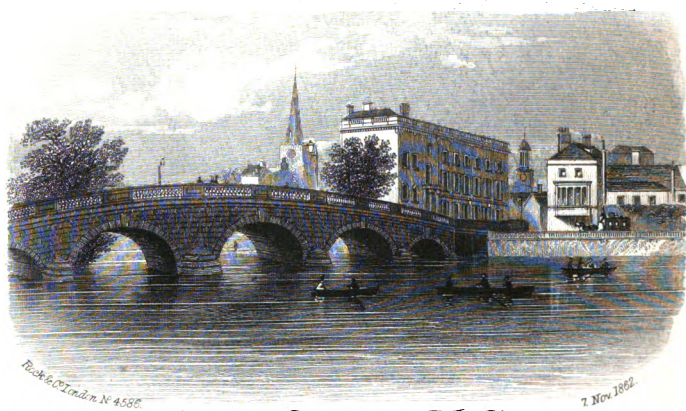
On our left, immediately opposite to the Bank Buildings, stand the two principal hotels in the town,—*The George Hotel* and the

The Swan Hotel.

The latter, a fine stone building consisting of four stories regularly arranged, was erected by Francis, Duke of Bedford, with part of the materials of Houghton House, a well-known beautiful seat which formerly stood in Houghton Park, near Ampthill, purchased by him of the Earl of Upper Ossory; and which, on account of its being situated so near to his seat of Woburn Abbey, was removed for this purpose. The entrance at the west has a *portico* of the Ionic order; and on each side of the building is a square gateway surmounted by a balustrade. The front of the hotel with the side towards the river is faced with wrought stone. The large room next to the



Bedford from the Bridge.



Bedford Bridge & The Banks.

river, has two fine circular projecting windows overlooking the river: these windows add greatly to the beauty of the building externally, as well as to its pleasantness internally. The *gardens* by the river side are very tastefully and pleasingly arranged. This building with the ground attached to it, occupies the site of the Castle, a short account of which has already been given: the *bowling-green* is situated at the bottom of the garden. The Bridge and the Swan and its garden, when viewed from the front of the Hotel and the top of the bridge, respectively, form perhaps two of the most pleasing sights in the town upon which the Visitor may gaze.

We now arrive at

The Bridge,

Connecting the northern and southern parts of the town. We are informed by Parry that "the old bridge was built in the beginning of the 13th century, on the same spot, it is supposed, as a more ancient one. It is said to have been built with the stones of the demolished castle, either given to the town, or purchased from some of those to whom they were given, as above. It consisted of five arches, rather circular than pointed; the piers were perpendicular and flat; the general appearance was not very handsome, although, in the dearth of handsome structures of this kind, it was formerly highly esteemed. In the 'Peregrination' of Dr. Boarde, (physician to Henry VIII.) 1526, it is set down as one of the "fayre stone bridges" of England. It was 330 feet long, and only $13\frac{1}{2}$ wide, and had a parapet $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, which was rebuilt with the materials of St. Peter, Dunstable. On each side of the centre arch was a tower gateway, but by no means handsome; that on the north side projected on the west over the river on an arch, and had stairs descending to the water. This was used as the town gaol. The south gatehouse was used as a magazine and storehouse, for the arms of the county militia, and any troops that happened to be quartered in the town." These gatehouses were pulled down in 1765, to render the passage over the bridge more commodious.

It is styled by Lambarde one of the "fayre stone bridges of England;" but not equal to the present one at Huntingdon. There is a good view of it, and another of St. Paul's Church, by Hearne and Byrne.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1849.

The Messrs. Lysons tell us that "the town gaol, which formerly stood on this bridge, was taken down in or about the year 1765, after which a temporary gaol was fitted up under the Town Hall, and afterwards a new gaol was built in St. Lloyd's [St. Loyes], near the almshouses; but, being found inconvenient, was taken down, and another has lately been erected to the N.W. of the town, near the road to Kettering; where a new county gaol also was completed in the year 1801, towards the building of which the late Mr. Whitbread left a legacy of £500."

Upon this bridge, or adjoining it, was the free chapel or oratory, with a hospital, dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr. Most records (Pat. 42 Edw. III., &c.) describe it as *on* the bridge; but a petition to parliament in 1338, (see Rolls of Parliament, Vol. II, p. 100) speaks of it as *close adjoining* to the bridge on the land of Lord Moubray. This was founded by the townsmen, in the beginning of the 14th century, and endowed with lands for the support of a priest, who united in his person the offices of Chaplain and Bridge-ward, and who enjoying the endowment, with probably other offerings and perquisites, was to repair the bridge at his own expense. By an old record, 1343, it appears that it was endowed with "2 messuages, 17 Shops (shopæ) 3 acres of land, and 7s. rent, in Bedford." At that time, the appointment of a warden appears to have been in dispute between the Corporation and the Crown. As no mention is made of it in the Chantry Roll, this chapel is supposed to have been dilapidated before the Reformation.—*Parry*.

The present bridge was erected in the year 1813—an excellent temporary wooden one, which only cost £400 being constructed *ad interim*—on nearly the same site as the former, at the cost of £15,137 towards which liberal donations were made particularly by the late Duke of Bedford and the late S. Whitbread Esq., the remainder was defrayed chiefly by public tolls which were levied until the year 1834. It is a fine structure, and stands on five slightly elliptical arches; its length is 306 feet (24 less than the old), its breadth 30 feet (more than double), and the chord or span of the centre arch 45 feet. It is built of stone, from Branley Fell, in Yorkshire, and the arches are both faced and lined with Portland stone; the upper part has a lofty parapet, supported with an open balustrade or pilasters of the same material which greatly improves the appearance of the bridge.

The right centre bears the following inscription :—

THE ORIGINAL BRIDGE OVER THE RIVER OUSE, AT THIS PLACE, WAS OF REMOTE ANTIQUITY; ITS DATE IS NOT KNOWN, BUT THERE WAS CERTAINLY A BRIDGE OF STONE BEFORE THE ONE BUILT IN THE EARLY PART OF THE 13TH CENTURY; OF ITS EXISTENCE AND DIMENSIONS MANY INDISPUTABLE TRACES HAVE BEEN FOUND. UPON THE DEMOLITION OF THE CASTLE OF BEDFORD, IN THE YEAR 1224, A LARGER BRIDGE WAS FOUNDED OF THE MATERIALS; WHICH HAVING FALLEN INTO DECAY, WAS AFTER A LAPSE OF NEARLY SIX HUNDRED YEARS, TAKEN DOWN AND REPLACED BY THE PRESENT STRUCTURE.

DESIGNED AND EXECUTED BY JOHN WING, OF BEDFORD, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COMMISSIONERS, AUTHORIZED BY TWO ACTS OF PARLIAMENT, OF THE 43RD AND 50TH OF G. III. THE FIRST STONE WAS LAID BY FRANCIS, MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK, ON THE SOLID ROCK, BELOW THE PILES ON WHICH THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE ANCIENT BRIDGES WERE PLACED; ON THE 26TH DAY OF APRIL, 1811.

GRANT DAVID YEATS, M.D., MAYOR OF BEDFORD.

IT WAS COMPLETED, AND OPENED FOR PUBLIC USE ON THE 1ST DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1813, IN THE MAYORALTY OF WILLIAM LONG, ESQ., IN THE 54TH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING GEORGE III.

The inscription on the left centre informs us that

THIS BRIDGE WAS OPENED TO THE PUBLIC FREE OF TOLL ON THE FIRST DAY OF JULY, 1835, IN THE MAYORALTY OF GEORGE WITT, ESQ., M.D., F.R.S., AND IN THE SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

An ancient seal with four matrices, found in the ruins of the old bridge, was exhibited at the annual meeting of the Bedfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society, held at the General Library, Bedford, June 21, 1849. And Hankin tells us that "the workmen employed in removing the rubbish of the foundation of the old bridge, discovered several Roman coins and rose-nobles of Edward III., besides antiquities which are still preserved by the inhabitants; some pieces of oak were also found in a good state of preservation, and capable of taking a fine polish, furnishing another instance of the durability of that sturdy ancient tree, the pride of English growth, whether exposed to the elements of air or water. Some of the inhabitants possess specimens of it made into the shape of small boxes, drawers for coins, &c.

The River Ouse.

Ouse is another form of the word *Ooze* derived from the French *Eaux* (waters). This river enters Bedfordshire, on its course from Buckinghamshire in the parish of Turvey; from whence it passes between Carlton and Harrold; between Odell and Chillington, near Felmersham, Sharnbrook, Bletsoe, Milton-Earnest, and Oakley; between Bromham and Biddenham to Bedford; thence near Goldington, Willington, Great Barford, Tempsford, Roxton, Little Barford, and Eaton-Socon: between the last mentioned place and St. Neots, it quits the County and enters Huntingdonshire. It first becomes navigable at Bedford, and flowing through St. Neots, Huntingdon, St. Ives, Ely, Littleport, and Downham, it passes on to Lynn Regis, where it falls into the Wash. The principal bridges over the Ouse are Carlton, Radwell, Stafford bridge near Oakley, Bromham, Bedford, Barford and Tempsford. At Bedford Bridge the river strikes as of very respectable width—perhaps about the same as at Magadlen Bridge, Oxford; or rather that of the Thames at Henley.—*Parry*.

From the Lysons we learn that "the circuitous course of the Ouse seems to have been much exaggerated. Fuller says that its course through this county (which is only 18 miles in width) is no less than 80 miles; and the editors of the *Magna Britannia* state it to be 90 miles: but as it is described on Jeffries's map, which was made by a trigonometrical survey, its course does not appear to be more than 45 miles." Fuller, speaking of the circuitous course of this river, remarks that "from its pleasantness it is loth to leave this county."

At all seasons of the year, the river Ouse is subject to inundations, which besides being destructive to the produce of the rich meadows on its banks, has in several instances been the cause of more extensive calamities: especially was this the case at Bedford in the year 1256, as recorded by Matthew Paris; in 1570, as related in two pamphlets; and on August 19, 1672, described also in two pamphlets. The Lysons inform us that "the Cambridgeshire proverb of 'the bailiff of Bedford is coming,' mentioned by Fuller, alludes to the inundations of the Ouse, a most rapacious distrainer of hay and cattle."

The average depth of the Ouse is considered to be about 10 feet; and the principal fish caught in this river are ells, pike, bream, perch, roach, chub, dace, cray-fish, bleak, and gudgeon. A considerable trade is carried on in timber, coals, &c., which are brought on the Ouse from Lynn and Yarmouth; and corn is brought from St. Ives and Cambridgeshire.

Continuing our course over the Bridge, and through High Street St. Mary's, we soon reach the remarkably neat looking edifice (on our left)

St. Mary's Church,

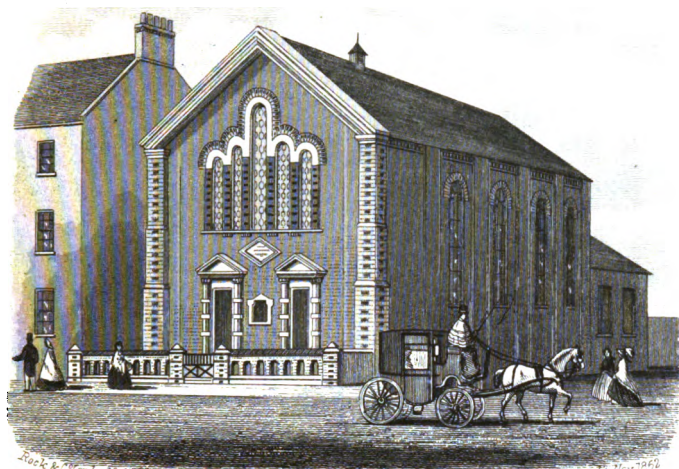
In the perpendicular style of architecture. This church, "we are told by Parry, belonged to the priory of Dunstable, but the presentation was more than once contested with the Bishop of Lincoln, with different success. It appears, however, to have been settled amicably, the party which presented making some compensation to the other."

The interior, consisting of a nave, and north and south aisles, (each of which are separated from the nave by four pointed arches, resting on piers), is uncommonly neat. The latter of these aisles was added in 1854, at the cost of £850. In the former aisle is the monument of a physician named John Beaumont, who died in 1698. The following couplet forms the conclusion of the long Latin inscription upon this monument, which sets forth his integrity and benevolence, and states that he was dear both to God and man, on account of his many virtues;—

"Ægrotat medicina : et qui renovare salutem
Invalidis poterat cogitur ipsi mori."

On the floor of the nave is the brass effigy of Robert Hawes, Alderman, and thrice Mayor of Bedford, dressed in his robes; it bears the date of 1627.

The chancel belonging to this church is rather roomy when compared with the size of the church; it is situated at the eastern extremity of the building, and contains several monuments: the principal one is on its south side, in commemoration of Dr. Giles Thorne, Rector of this church and St. Peter's, archdeacon of Buckingham, and Chaplain to Charles II: it is emblazoned with his arms, and is supported by a group of female figures. Another monument in this chancel commemorates the Rev. William Done, Archdeacon of



St. Mary's Baptist Chapel. Bedford



St. Mary's Church. Bedford

Bedford, and Prebend of Lincoln. Opposite to Dr. Thorne's monument is a neat mural tablet to the memory of the Rev. William Cummings.

The register of St. Mary's with St. Peter, Dunstable, commences in 1558; and it is said that several entries in this were taken from one still older. According to this register three nuns of Elstow Abbey, who survived the dissolution, were buried here; their names are as follows:—"Dame Ann Preston, Dame Elizabeth Fox, and Dame Elizabeth Napier."

The tower, containing six small musical bells, and a clock with chimes, stands between the nave and chancel, supported on arches. The top is embattled, and has four handsome pinnacles, below which a dragon's head projects at each corner of the moulding. The gallery is situated at the west, just over the entrance from High Street, St. Mary's.

We are told in *Magna Britannia* that "the parish of St. Mary was inclosed by an Act of Parliament passed in 1797, when an allotment of land was made to the rector in lieu of tithes. It was computed that there were then about 400 acres of land, belonging to this parish lying in open fields. The rector of St. John's was entitled to the tithes of about 12 acres of land in this parish, for which an allotment was also made." The living is now in the gift of the Bishop of Lincoln. The Rev. Theodore Bownes is the Rector; and the Rev. Charles Brereton, and the Rev. E. G. Bayly, the curates.

Divine service is performed in this church every Sabbath day at 11 a.m., 3 p. m., and 6:30 p.m.

Immediately opposite to St. Mary's church is a vacant place, once occupied by the church of

ST PETER DUNSTAPLE,

Which before the year 1400 was a separate parish; it was afterwards annexed to St. Mary's, the services being performed in each Church on alternate weeks and the books and ornaments removed from one church to the other every Saturday. But this weekly removal and the expense of maintaining two buildings in repair, occasioned continually a great deal of contention among the parishioners. From what we can now ascertain, it appears that the incumbent at that time was John Maigott, who had been presented thereto by the Bishop of Lincoln; he was inducted in January, 1538, but, owing to the unpleasant circumstances which arose from these disagreements, he was induced to resign the benefice in 1544, after he had held it for nearly seven years.

"However much the parishioners were bent upon annoying him and shewing their dissatisfaction, while he remained with them, they began very quickly to regret his loss, and therefore made suit to the Bishop of Lincoln, that he should endeavour to induce Mr. Maigott, to take the living again, whom they described as a godly and charitable man. By the Bishop's

persuasion he consented to return, but to avoid future disagreements his Lordship desired that as they were all of one parish, they should be content with one Church: he also expressed a wish that they should take down St. Peter's, and with the materials beautify and enlarge the other Church. On the 17th April, 1545, Maigott was again instituted, and from that time the services were performed in the Church of St. Mary's only, and that of St. Peter's was altogether unemployed. The Church being left vacant, a yeoman of the chamber of the King, named George Ireland, made supplication to King Edward 6th, and to the Duke of Somerset, to obtain a grant of the same considering it a property escheated to the Sovereign. The Duke was inclined to favour Ireland's suit, and directed letters to Sir Edworth Worth, Knight, then Chancellor of the court of augmentations, to cause a survey of the Church of St. Peter Dunstable to be made, and a report to be returned thereupon.

The parishioners hearing of these proceedings exhibited a bill in London to the Duke of Somerset, setting forth their own claims, and requesting license to take down the unoccupied Church, and with the materials of which it was built to repair and amend the great bridge and the roads of the town of Bedford, and to enlarge and beautify the Church of St. Mary, to which an aisle had been recently added.

This application the Duke of Somerset referred to the Chancellor of augmentations, in consequence of the previous suit instituted by George Ireland as one of the inhabitants of the parish. Ireland relinquished all claim to the building on receiving a sum of money from the parishioners. Upon this he joined suit with them, and a survey was taken by Mr. Smyth, the Surveyor of the County of Bedford, and the Church was offered to be taken down, but only just in time, as the north aisle had become so dilapidated, that it must have fallen of itself had it continued much longer in a neglected state.

This account is chiefly obtained from an old manuscript in the possession of Mr. Bradley of Bedford, the following verbatim extract from which will show that then, as at the present time, but little public business could be transacted without jobbery.

“Mr. Hull. at the time of the said survey, prepared an Honest Dinner at his house for the Surveyor, and after they had dined, Mr. Hull, came to the Church of St. Peter, and persuaded Mr. Russell and others of the parish, to give unto Mr. Smyth—The Great Bell of St. Peter's Church.”

A short time since, on laying down some gas pipes, part of the foundations of the old Church were laid open; they extended further into the road than the present foot-pavement. The site is now the open space, called St. Mary's Square, but the church-yard must have extended over a considerable portion of ground now occupied by houses—as is proved by the quantity of human bones thrown up whenever there may be occasion to dig a few feet below the surface of the ground.

Passing over this waste piece of ground, and continuing our walk down Cauldwell street, we pass in a few minutes

St. Mary's Wesleyan Chapel.

It was about the year 1863 that the Wesleyan body in this town, having long felt the want of increased accomodation, decided to erect a new chapel, but it was not until about the middle of the year 1864, that a suitable site could be secured. The ground was no sooner purchased than with characteristic energy they set about raising the necessary funds, and at the first meeting in the Bedford Rooms subscriptions amounting to upwards of £1,200 were promised.

With these cheering prospects, arrangements were made for the foundation services; and on Wednesday, November 16th, 1864, in the presence of an immense assembly, the Foundation Stone, weighing about a ton, and which supports the centre pier of the front entrance, was laid by our venerable townsman, Mr. Alderman Howard, with considerable ceremony.

During the morning the children of various Sunday schools in the circuit arrived by waggons in the town, being accompanied by their teachers and friends. Shortly before twelve o'clock these were formed into a procession in Castle lane; thence they marched round by Mill street into High street, crossed the bridge into St. Mary's, turned into Cauldwell street, and reaching the site of the new chapel, were drawn up in due order.

The place selected for laying the stone was on one side of the porch, and it was intended to place a similar stone on the other side to commemorate the completion of the building. Around the large foundation stone, suspended in the usual way, a platform had been erected. Here, a few minutes after twelve, John Howard, Esq., with his two sons—James Howard, Esq., Mayor, and Mr. Fredk. Howard,—the President of the Conference (Rev. W. L. Thornton, M.A.), Rev. S. D. Waddy, D.D., Rev. T. A. Rayner (Superintendent), Rev. J. Lees, Rev. G. T. Taylor, Rev. G. Barnley, Mr. T. Street, Mr. T. Twitchell, Mr. C. Street, Mr. T. T. Gray, Mr. H. Pain, Mr. Biggs, &c., assembled, and the ceremony was commenced by singing the hymn commencing—

“Before Jehovah's awful throne,” &c.

with which that sung at the close of the ceremony had been printed and circulated throughout the assembly.

The Rev. G. T. Taylor offered up an appropriate prayer, invoking the Divine blessing upon the undertaking.

The Rev. J. Lees read a Psalm and a portion of I Corinthians, iii.

The Rev. T. A. Rayner then read the following interesting document which was engrossed on parchment, and at a subsequent period of the proceedings was deposited with a *Times* of the day, the *Bedford Times* of the previous day, the plan of the circuit, and some of the latest coins of the realm, in a deep cavity of the Foundation Stone.

"In the name of the Holy Trinity, the Foundation of this chapel was laid by John Howard, Esq., one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace and Alderman of the Borough of Bedford, on the 16th day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, being the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and the second year of the Mayoralty of James Howard, Esq., to be set apart for the worship of Almighty God, in accordance with the doctrine, discipline, and forms of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, as contained in Holy Scripture, and explained in the writings of its founder, the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., and duly administered by the Wesleyan Conference.

The Rev. William Lockwood Thornton, M.A., President of the Conference, the Rev. William Dousland Waddy, D.D., one of the ex-presidents of the Conference, and the ministers of the circuit took part in the service connected with the ceremony.

The Chapel now being erected is intended to accommodate 680 persons, about one third of the sittings being free, and the cost, including the site, will be £3,000, which amount will be raised by voluntary contributions.

The school adjoining the chapel is intended to accommodate upwards of 200 children.

Mr. Robert Palgrave, of London, is the Architect, and Mr. James Houghton, of Bedford, is the Builder.

The first Wesleyan Chapel in this town was built in Angel street, now called Harpur street, in the year 1766. Another chapel in its place was erected in 1805, and the chapel now standing in Harpur street, was built in 1832.

The number of members in 1766 was 167, in 1805 the number was 890, in 1832 after some of the more distant places had been transferred to neighbouring circuits, the number was 742, and in the present year 1864, the number is 1,300. The number of members in connection with the British Conference and several affiliated Conferences, is 525,156.

The population of Bedford in 1766, when the first Wesleyan Chapel was built, was under 4,000. In 1809, when the next one was erected, the population was 4,276. In 1832, when the present chapel in Harpur-street was built, the population was about 7,000. And the population when the last census was taken in 1861, was 13,413.

The Rev. John Wesley first visited Bedford on Monday, October 15th, 1753, and preached on St. Peter's Green on the following day, at seven in the morning and five in the evening. His next visit was on Saturday, July 28, 1754, and on the following day he preached near St. Peter's Green. Mr. Wesley's third visit was on Tuesday, April 12, 1757, and in his journal he says, "Mr. Parker, now Mayor, received us gladly. He hath not borne the sword in vain. There is no cursing or swearing in the street; no work done on the Lord's day: indeed there is no open wickedness of any kind now to be seen in Bedford. O! what may not one magistrate do, who has a single eye and a confidence in God." On Monday, February 27, 1758, Mr. Wesley in his journal says, "Having a sermon to prepare against the Assizes at Bedford, I retired for a few days to Lewisham. On Thursday, March 9th, I rode to Bedford and found the sermon was not to be preached till Friday. Had I known this in time I should never have thought

of preaching it, having engaged to be at Epworth on Saturday. The congregation at St. Paul's was very large and very attentive. The Judge immediately after sermon sent me an invitation to dine with him; but having no time I was obliged to send my excuse, and set out between one and two for Epworth." The Judge before whom this memorable sermon was preached, was Sir Edward Clive, and the text on which the sermon was founded was—Romans xiv, 10. Mr. Wesley's next visit to Bedford was on Friday, Nov. 28, 1769; but on this occasion instead of officiating in St. Paul's Church he was obliged to preach in a corn-chamber, lent by Mr. Alderman Parker, and in this building it may therefore be said that the first Methodist congregation in Bedford assembled for worship. Mr. Wesley says—"We had a pretty large congregation, and surely they love the gospel who come to hear it in such a place." (On March 16, 1762, a piece of freehold ground originally vested in the Churchwardens and overseers of St. Paul's was conveyed to certain persons for the use of the Rev. John Wesley and others appointed by him to preach, and on this site a building was erected, of which Mr. Wesley says in his journal of Monday, October 10, 1763—"I preached in the New Room at Bedford, where we at last see some fruit of our labours." Several subsequent visits to Bedford are recorded in Mr. Wesley's Journal, and on Friday, October 16, 1772, he says—"I went round to Bedford. I was sorry to hear from Alderman Parker that his son-in-law had broke through all the regulations which he had made, tolerating all the tippling, Sabbath-breaking, &c., which Mr. P. had totally suppressed, thus showing to all the world that he was not under the law either of God or man."

On a subsequent visit to Bedford, Mr. Wesley, on Tuesday, Nov. 30, 1784, says—"I visited my old friends at Bedford, and found Mr. Parker just quivering on the verge of life; however, I rejoiced to find him clearly possessed of the perfect love which he had so long opposed." Mr. Wesley's last visit was on Wednesday, Nov. 19, 1788, and in speaking of it he says—"I crossed over to Bedford, but where to lodge I did not know. But one met me in the street, and said Mr. ——— desired I would go straight to his house. I did so, and found myself in a palace; the best house by far in the town; where I was entertained not only with the utmost courtesy, but, I believe, with sincere affection. Our room was much crowded in the evening, and pretty well filled in the morning; and as all disputes are at an end, there is great reason to hope that the work of God will increase here also."

The house referred to by Mr. Wesley in which he was entertained was that occupied by the late George Peter Livius, Esq.

The ministers of the circuit at the present time are the Rev. Thomas Alexander Rayner, chairman of the district, the Rev. James Lees, and the Rev. George Thomas Taylor; the Rev. William Dixon, supernumerary.

The circuit stewards are Mr. John Howard and Mr. William Gibbins.

The trustees of the chapel now being erected are Messrs. Edward Tenney Bousfield, Benjamin Brown, Thomas Robert Brown, George Bryant, Charles Day, Thomas Tokelove Gray, William Chancellor Grey, Frederick Howard, James Howard, Henry Pain, John Peet, James Sheppard, Charles Street, George Thompson, and Thomas Twichell.

"And when the builders laid the foundation of the temple of the Lord, they sent the priests in their apparel with trumpets, and the Levites the sons of Asaph with oymbals, to praise the Lord after the ordinance of David, king of Israel. And they sang together by course, in praising and giving thanks unto the Lord, because he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever toward Israel. And all the people shouted with a great shout when they praised the Lord, because the foundation of the house of the Lord was laid."—Ezra iii, 10, 11.

"His foundation is in the holy mountains. The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob. Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God. I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon to them that know me; behold Philistia and Tyro, with Ethiopia; this man was born there. And of Zion it shall be said, this and that man was born in her: and the highest himself shall establish her. The Lord shall count, when he writeth up the people, that this man was born there. As well the singers as the players on instruments shall be there; all my springs are in thee."—Psalm lxxxvii.

"Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord; in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit."—Ephesians ii, 19, 20, 21, 22.

The architect, Mr. Palgrave, of Pall Mall, having pronounced everything ready, the Rev. T. A. Rayner, taking a silver trowel from Mr. Palgrave, said he would call on an old and esteemed resident, long connected with the church, John Howard, Esq., to lay the foundation stone of this intended building; and he had great pleasure in presenting to him, in the name of the trustees, the silver trowel he (Mr. R.) held in his hand, united with the prayer that it would please God long to spare his life.

Mr. John Howard then took the trowel and used it very freely. The stone was lowered as usual into its place. The mallet used on the occasion was made of Ampthill oak, with the exception of the handle, which was rosewood; the level was also of Ampthill oak; both tools were beautifully polished. The venerable gentleman plied the mallet so vigorously that it broke in two. When the stone had been tried, Mr. Howard said: "This stone is duly and properly laid, in the name of the ever blessed and glorious Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

The trowel made use of in the ceremony was an elegant silver one with ivory handle, and was furnished by Mr. T. P. Clare, silversmith, High street. On the upper side of the blade, within a border of chaste design, was skilfully engraved the following inscription:—

PRESENTED
TO
JOHN HOWARD, ESQUIRE,
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE,
AND ALDERMAN OF THE BOROUGH,
BY THE TRUSTEES OF THE
ST. MARY'S WESLEYAN CHAPEL,
BEDFORD,
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS LAYING
THE FOUNDATION STONE
NOVEMBER 16TH, 1864.

The Rev. W. L. Thornton, M.A., President of the conference, delivered a short address, and the ceremony concluded by singing the hymn selected for the occasion :

“ God bless our native land,” &c.

A number of memorial stones were then laid by gentlemen on the west side of the building, a sum of money being given as each stone was laid. Mr. Houghton was close at hand to superintend the amateur builders in their work. The following laid each a memorial stone :— Mr. James Howard, Mr. Frederick Howard, Mr. Twitchell, Mr. C. Street, Mr. T. T. Grey, Mr. Thompson, Mr. J. Peet, Mr. W. C. Grey, Mr. Bousfield, Mr. T. R. Brown, Mr. B. Brown, Mr. J. Sheppard, Mr. Joseph Joy, Mr. F. Armstrong, Mr. T. Legge, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. T. Armstrong, Mr. G. J. Cocking, Mr. Thos. Sturges, Mr. W. Stewart, Mr. Amos Maxey, Mr. T. P. Clare, &c.

The proceedings of the day amounted to upwards of £200. The children collected £75 9s. 4d., and the copper coins, which amounted to £30, weighed nearly 2 cwt.

The ceremony of *Opening* this chapel, took place on Wednesday, June 20th 1866. The service was commenced in the morning at Eleven o'clock, by the Rev. L. H. Wiseman, of London, who preached from this text,—“ For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus our Lord ; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake.”—2 Cor. iv, 5.

At one o'clock upwards of 100 persons dined in the large school-room connected with the chapel, James Howard, Esq., in the chair.

In the evening a very large number sat down to an excellent tea in the school-room, after which there was divine service in the chapel, the sermon being preached by the Rev. L. H. Wiseman. The proceeds of the day amounted to about £360.

Mr. Robert Palgrave, 11, Pall Mall, East, was the architect. The general style of the building is an adaptation of the early French Gothic, or Florentine Gothic style of architecture ; it is constructed of red brick, relieved in some instances by the introduction of white ones, with bath stone dressings. In the front is a large porch projecting from the main building, over which is a pediment with the date of the building ; it is paved with Minton's Tiles ; either side of the porch is flanked by a large buttress ; and the gable end of the building is pierced by two two-light windows with cinque foil openings. The roof is high pitched, the interior having a stained wood ceiling to avoid the echo in the apex. The chapel has double aisles from the porch, at the entrance of which are doors between two iron columns with foliated capitals in the centre, the doors sliding into a recess. In the centre of the building, in the

rear, are pulpit, reading desk, and font, on a raised dais; at the back of the pulpit is what may be called the choir, something like the chancel in churches, with organ gallery. There is also a large southern gallery, the access to which is by two staircases from either side of the porch. There are four main entrances and places of exit; two at the north end lead into the large schoolroom, and, over the school-room are two vestries and a room for the choir. The walls internally up to the spring of the roof are of red brick with bands of white bricks; above that the walls are plastered and colored with French green. The numbers the edifice is intended to accomodate will be found in the copy of the document placed in the foundation stone, given above. The length, including the adjoining school, is 104 feet; the width 47 feet; and the extreme height 68 feet. The pulpit, communion, and organ are opposite the south doors; and the gallery for the children and others is situate under the south window. The architect has so arranged the building, that at a future time it can be readily enlarged by means of a transept, and this without closing the chapel. The floor is above the ground level, and the chapel is consequently approached by a flight of steps.

It may here be added that it is intended, ultimately, to erect a tower at the side of the edifice, and this is the reason why it is now somewhat out of the centre of the site. Mr. Houghton was the builder, and Mr. Joy executed the woodwork.

This edifice as well as supplying the necessary accommodation for the people for whom it is designed, is certainly a considerable ornament to the neighbourhood.

This chapel was erected at a cost, including the purchase of site, of £3,000.

On the same side of the street, not many steps further on, stands

St. Mary's Baptist Chapel.

This elegant little structure was erected in 1861-62, and opened for public worship on the 13th of June, 1862. The congregation meeting here are Particular Baptists. About 10 years prior to the erection of this chapel, they seceded from the congregation worshipping in the Baptist Chapel, Mill Street; for about 4 years they worshipped in a house, which then belonged to Mr. Hornsey (one of the members) in Castle Lane; to these rooms they gave the name of "The Ebenezer Baptist Chapel," which name they afterwards applied to Matthew's Chapel, Conduit Street, to which they removed for the sake of convenience. A series of changes then took place in the ministry. In 1861 several of the members of the church and congregation, after having

worshipped for 6 years in this very uncomfortable building, were determined to build a chapel of their own; many liberal donations having been given towards this object, Mr. John Usher, architect, was consulted, by whom the present structure was designed. The total cost of the building was £900. A Sunday-school is connected with the chapel, consisting of 80 children, and 14 teachers. The chapel is capable of seating 300 persons.

The Britannia Iron Works.

A hundred years ago, there resided at Cardington, Bedford, a man who living in advance of his age, achieved, without seeking or desiring them, a world-wide reputation and imperishable fame as an enlightened and literally self-sacrificing philanthropist. "John Howard of Bedford" are familiar household words throughout the civilized world. In this year of grace 1868, Bedford has still its Howards, distinguished public benefactors, although of quite another order, who are known to fame both at home and abroad, and not undeservedly, they are none the less public benefactors and entitled to credit as effective agents in promoting civilization, in that the persevering action of their enterprising spirit and the application of their eminent talents have created and diffused wealth amongst others without impoverishing themselves. We refer to James and Frederick Howard, proprietors of the Britannia Works, Bedford, which have been specially designed for, and are exclusively devoted to the manufacture of agricultural machinery and implements.—"*The Farmer.*"

This very extensive and magnificent block of buildings, which for utility and beauty, are, perhaps as a manufactory unsurpassed in England, were designed in England by Robert Palgrave, of Pall Mall. They were commenced in 1857, and completed in 1859. It has been stated, that they are the largest works in the world, devoted to the manufacture of tillage implements; one of the shops alone occupies an acre of ground, and such is the extent of the whole works, that they have been pronounced, not only the largest, but also the most complete agricultural implement manufactory in the world. Some idea of the work executed in these buildings, may be formed, when we state that upwards of 10,000 finished implements of various kinds, besides many thousand tons of castings, are sent out annually from this establishment, in which upwards of 600 men are employed.

Travelling northward from London by the Midland, the works burst upon the view to the left quite suddenly after passing under a bridge on the highway to Woburn. The Midland Railway and the lines of rail which belong to the Britannia Works constitute the boundary of the premises on that side. All that is seen in passing—but that is quite

sufficient to arrest attention and excite interest—is the end elevation of the great area of contiguous covered workshops. There is only time to take an impression of the magnitude of the works, and to notice that the end *façade* shews the wall of a great area roofed in six bays (each of 52 feet span) and that although the building is “only brick” the architect and builder have made the very most of their material in producing an example upon a large scale of as sound and sightly brick-work as one could expect or desire to see. The walls, of good red stock brick, are relieved by the introduction, in the best taste, of white and blue bricks in combination with red, in the archivolt, friezes, string-courses, &c.

The buildings are entirely on the ground floor; the roofs of the workshops, of which there are six, being each 52 feet span; they are covered with buff tiles, which have been found to secure an agreeably cool temperature during the summer months; and are on that account preferable to those of the ordinary red colour. Light is admitted into the shops through the roof, in which are inserted 30,000 glass tiles with light cast-iron frames. The whole range of buildings, comprising workshops, offices, stores, sheds, and lodge, together with implement yard and wharf, occupy a space of 15 acres. These works were raised at a cost (including the purchase of the land upon which they stand, which is certainly one of the most convenient and picturesque sites that could have been selected) of about £35,000. The grounds are bounded on the north by the river Ouse, which is navigable to the sea: on the south by the Kempston Road; on the west by Cauldwell Priory; and on the east by the Midland Railway, a branch of which, as well as one from the London and North-Western and Cambridge Railway, run *into* the works. A line of railway is laid down the middle of each of the shops, from east to west, with turn-tables in the centre, which connects the line of each shop with one running through the whole of the works from north to south. Besides these, there are lines to the coal, coke, and iron warehouses on the river side, to the painting shop, and to the forwarding warehouse. The entire works are also surrounded by a tramway.

From the railway, these works form a conspicuous object; and when beheld at a distance they have a very imposing appearance. Their frontage, entrance, and chief offices, are even worthy consideration on the score of design. They are in the form of a square, and as the visitor will readily admit, have been constructed with considerable architectural skill. The foundry department contains four large cylindrical iron erections, which form the melting furnaces. They have a platform to which the iron and fuel, required for feeding them, are hoisted by steam power. Below is a spout or trough through which the liquid metal runs, in a glowing stream, into a ladle mounted on wheels and running on the tramway. Everything is as manageable too, as if pouring milk from the pail into the coolers of a dairy. Standing beside a dozen ranges of about twelve moulds, or chills, for casting ploughshares,

you may see a man and boy at each set or range, working as if for life and death, when—quick as thought—out spring dozens of shares of the well-known and clearly outlined form, lettered and complete. Man and boy appear to have a separate job for either hand, and, as you stand musing on the sight of activity, the same scene is repeated. The arrangement for making and hardening the ploughshares has been patented by Mr. James Howard, and certainly nothing can be more complete and efficient. Of a more noisy character is another job going on close at hand, the shaping and fitting of steel mould-boards on large iron blocks, so as to obtain perfect exactitude among all the turn furrows of the pattern or patterns in hand. The dressing department consists of a row of massive grindstones, six feet in diameter. From them sparks are flying as the mould-boards are being smoothed against their rapidly revolving discs. The motive power of the works—a very powerful and massive compound (high and low pressure) engine—is worthy of more than a passing glance. Securely bedded in a foundation of solid masonry, you may stand within an inch of the basement and hardly recognise the fact of such a force beside you; and, being wholly enclosed in a room of plate glass, the internal arrangements of which are kept in a drawing-room style of neatness, the whole effect is as fine as can be imagined. The steam has to be conveyed some distance from the boilers, one or both of which can be used the same time. Just over the boilers is a 10,000 gallon cistern, for supplying the wants of the boilers, forges, grindstones, foundry, and offices with water, as well as a resource in case of fire. Beyond the engine and under the same span, are lathes of every description, fitted to cope with the largest steam windlass appurtenances, or the smallest wants of the common plough. The forging-house has large steam hammers and rows of forges. One steam-driven fan-blast, revolving five thousand times a minute, supplies the whole lot, and the workman has only to open or shut off the wind according as his heating requires. The fitting house completes the range, and is adjacent to the painting-shed, so that no plough, or part of a plough, or implement, has to go over the same ground twice. Here are plough-frames, mould-boards, and other fittings stacked up by the hundred, all ready for “making up.” The floor of the forwarding-house is paved with irregularly shaped blocks of wood, making a pleasant, soft, and springy floor, on which fractures, or accidents to castings would not be likely to happen. Here the export packing is managed, the shares and similar articles going in barrels, and the larger parts in oblong boxes or cases. Then there are the pattern stores, in which duplicates of all castings made here are kept alphabetically arranged in endless multiplicity; the paint stores, the paint grinding, &c., the fire-engine, stabling, general store-shop, and others. The Offices are admirably arranged. From the door step to the iron safes there is the same easy and artistic proportion of parts and adaptation of means to an end. Separate offices for separate clerks, with private access for each, gives an amount of effective elbow-room not often seen.

The rule of the firm is "piece-work;"—the iron is melted, the ploughs made and painted, and even the goods are packed by this system of measurement. As regards this system, Mr. James Howard said, in a lecture which he delivered first in the Working Men's Institute, Bedford, and afterwards to the shoemakers on strike, at Northampton :—"I like the system of piece-work, as it enables the workmen to earn higher wages, and the master pays for no more and no less than is done. I never had any difficulty in getting work done by the piece. I hear there are difficulties in other trades; but I think they would vanish when the system came into operation. 'Tis worthy of remark and consideration, that those trades have made the greatest progress where piece-work has been the rule. It gives the industrious and skilful man a great advantage over the lazy and unskilful man. It also sets the energies of the mind to work to find out readier and quicker methods of getting over work. Over-time may do with your slow day workmen, but 'tis no advantage to men by the piece. I have had a somewhat extensive experience, and have invariably found as the result of over-time, continued for any lengthened period, a large number of men on the sick list. I believe if men work ten hours a day, they will do more in a year than if worked twelve hours."

More than fifty thousand of Messrs. James and Frederick Howard's Patent Champion Ploughs are now in use. Their New Patent Champion Ploughs are improved forms of their original Prize Ploughs, and have been brought out with the greatest care, every improvement having been adopted which has suggested itself during a long experience in the manufacture of Iron Ploughs. The improvements consist in a more perfect form of the moving and cutting parts, increased simplicity, and greater strength with less weight. For many years the Messrs. Howard have made the subject of improvements in Ploughs their principal study, and they have invariably kept in view the following objects:—1. To make a plough that will cut and turn the work in the best manner, and suitable to the greatest variety of soil. 2. To obtain a form, the lightest in draught, and that will work the cleanest on sticky soils. 3. To substitute wrought iron for cast wherever practicable, so as to render every part strong and durable, without unnecessary weight. 4. To make every part free from complication, and to fit those parts subject to wear or breakage in the most simple manner, so that an ordinary ploughman shall have no difficulty in replacing them when in the field. 5. To make the plough that can be kept in order at the least expense, to which end Messrs. Howard have paid great attention to the quality of their shares and other wearing parts.

The Messrs. Howard were sagacious enough to see that steam power would eventually be brought to bear upon the tillage of the soil, and, accordingly were among the pioneers in this important department; their enterprise has been abundantly rewarded in this branch, they have

manufactured and sold upwards of five hundred sets of steam cultivating apparatus, they have acquired much experience in cultivating their own farms by steam power, and have likewise made themselves acquainted with the opinions and experience of Farmers who have adopted steam cultivation, under various circumstances, and in different parts of the country. Their farms are therefore resorted to by agriculturists from all parts of the world.

The Prizes awarded to Messrs. J. and F. Howard are far too numerous to mention, besides many from English, Scotch, Irish, Continental, Colonial, and other Societies.—From the Royal Agricultural Society of England they have received thirty-five First Prizes for the best Ploughs for light land, best ploughs for heavy land, best ploughs for general purposes, best ridging ploughs, best subsoil ploughs, best harrows, best horse rakes, best haymakers, best horse hoes; also the Gold Medal, and a Prize of £25 for steam cultivating apparatus. At the Great Exhibition of all nations, they obtained the Prize Medal for ploughs and horse rakes. At the Austrian International Exhibition at Vienna, the Gold Medal of honour for the best ploughs. At the Hungarian International Exhibition at Pesth, the first-class diploma for the best ploughs. At the Paris Universal Exhibition, the Gold Medal of honour for the best ploughs, best harrows, and best horse rakes. At the Paris Agricultural Exhibition, seven First Prizes and eight Gold and Silver Medals, for the best ploughs, best harrows, and best horse rakes. At the Russian International Exhibition at St. Petersburg, the large Gold Medal for the best plough. At the International Exhibition of 1862, the Prize Medal for ploughs, harrows, horse rakes, hay-making machines, and steam cultivating apparatus. The crowning victory of this successful firm was, however, at the Great Paris Exhibition of 1867, at which their names appeared at the head of the list of all countries, in addition to this Gold Medal, the further distinction of a Grand Prize was conferred upon them, this was to have been received from the hands of the Emperor Napoleon, but as the grand distribution of these special awards was fixed to take place on a Sunday, Messrs. Howard declined to attend, and assigned their reason for doing so.

For the following we are indebted to "*The Farmer*:"—

The front of the premises faces the Woburn and Bedford high road, and is such in design and appearance as might lead to the supposition, if the spectator had not a glimpse of the interior, and did not know otherwise, that the principal entrance to the works was the portal to some sybaratic castle of indolence, or some luxurious seat of learning, or anything indeed, other than a temple of industry, in which upwards of 600 workpeople are to be seen, busy as bees, daily, with hands and faces smirched by the dust and grime of honest and honourable toil.

The principal building on the front boundary of the works is a hand-

some and lofty arched entrance, surmounted by a clock tower and campanile, and flanked by recessed wings. Carts and waggons passing inwards or outwards by the principal entrance have to cross a weigh bridge, and, loaded or empty as tare, are weighed, if necessary, by a machine of improved construction. The buildings at the entrance, contain the gas meter room and time keeper's room and weigh-house, and a watchman's room. The front boundary has a belt of shrubbery extending from this central entrance to each extremity, the premises being enclosed by an ornamental iron upright railing. Between the entrance and the workshops is a spacious open yard, which extends also along the end of the works to the left—that is, the end opposite to that seen from the railway. Entering by the front, and passing onwards through the works, we are inverting the order of progress as compared with the processes of manufacture. If we were to come in with the raw material, and to follow it through these processes, we should enter from the river boundary, or near it, and immerge near the front, with the finished machinery or implements.

Meantime we take a rapid survey of what is to be seen from the yards before entering the buildings. Turning sharp round to the right we come upon a commodious goods station, the exclusive property of the firm, and constructed as its outward and inward lines of rails and sidings are laid, upon their property. The station has its packing sheds and loading shed and forwarding clerk's offices, and is amply manned as occasion requires. In the station and on the premises immediately adjoining, are constantly to be seen piles of finished machinery, ploughs and harrows complete, plough beams, handles, frames, slades, breasts, wheels, and shares, horse rake and harrow frames in scores, and horse rake and harrow teeth in hundreds, all in process of being packed for shipment, or waiting their turn. From this goods station, used exclusively by this single firm about 300 trucks per month are dispatched laden with agricultural machines or implements, or parts of implements. Nearly as many trucks, laden with raw material, are received inwards per month. At the station, and all over the works indeed, are powerful cranes for lifting and moving rapidly and easily the heavy materials and articles dealt with. Before leaving this model goods station it may be mentioned that Messrs. Howard have from it direct connexion with the Midland and also the London and North Western Railways, and have consequently continuous railway communication with every inland town and seaport of any importance in Great Britain; their connexion with the seaports giving them, moreover, an outlet to all parts of the civilized world. The river Ouse again furnishes means for water carriage to Lynn and Wisbech, and by its connexion with inland navigation, to various localities in the interior of England. Crossing the wide front yard to the handsome pile of buildings, with its ornamental front and pretty roof of colored slate in bands, at the opposite corner of the premises near the front, we find on entering the

building, that it includes private rooms for each of the partners, a well-furnished and comfortable waiting and reading room, invoice and correspondence offices, cashier's, designing, and pay offices, ironmongery stores, with other conveniences; and near by a fire-engine house. In the rear of these are the stable and stable yard, gig house, loose boxes, harness room, &c. Alongside the principal offices, extending towards the river, are a large painting shed and paint shop, a carpenter's shop and timber yard. The end of this range of shops brings us to near the river and the broad wharves, that extend the whole width of the premises, exclusive of the dock constructed at the end of the range. The vessels delivering the different kinds of raw material for the works, have each their respective berths—this for coal, that for timber, the next for pig-iron, and the next for coke, which has its own appropriated store. The wharves are at the rear of the great covered area, which is 650 feet long by 400 feet wide, and is divided into the foundry, grinding and glazing shop, lath and machine shop, screw and drilling shop, erecting shop, an immense smithy, and to the front two plough fitting shops, and harrow and rake fitting shops. These various departments are surrounded on three sides by store-rooms for various kinds of goods and materials, by model-room, pattern-makers' shops and pattern stores, and to the front by foremen's offices.

But much more ought to be said concerning these works, and the operations conducted in them, than is done in giving a mere catalogue of the departments. Returning to the wharf, the stately chimney, 130 feet in height, built of Portland stone and red brick, and surmounted by a crown of iron trellis work, reminds us that there are others powers in operation in this great establishment, in addition to the thews and sinews of the workmen—powers that multiply the production tenfold or more—the steam engines. There is one single engine to give the power required in the wood department, and a pair of compound engines for the metal department. The steam is supplied by three boilers of forty horse-power each. The water-tank which supplies the works contains 10,000 gallons, and is kept replenished by steam power applied to the pumps, which lift it from the river Ouse. The pair of engines which supply power in the metal department, are fixed near the centre of the main building, and fenced off with handsome glazed framework. Economy is the order in the works throughout; and to utilize what would otherwise be wasted heat, a drying-room for timber is constructed over the boiler-house.

Before re-entering the foundry, one of the many time, money, and labour-saving arrangements in the works, should be noticed—namely, the tramways that run in all directions, and the turn-tables that are placed wherever they can be of use. The various heavy materials and the parts of machines and implements in different stages of manufacture are passed on by the tramways from one department to another with

the greatest ease and celerity. And now, to peep into the foundry, which looks a pandemonium, other specialties of these works present themselves. The two large cupolas in the centre of the foundry are constantly charged with molten metal all the day through, the fresh supplies of pig being raised by a steam lift. Wherever it is possible, payment for labour in the works is by the piece; and in the foundry, accordingly, the moulders are served with metal at a price per ton. Machinery, upon the patented invention of Mr. James Howard, is extensively employed in moulding, with great success, and to a great saving. About 10 tons of light castings are turned out per day, the greater part of the work being done by labourers and youths. The ladle or shank, from which the moulders are supplied with molten metal, contains about a ton. It is mounted upon four wheels, and even when full can be moved with ease along the tramways, laid in the centre of the foundry. It is so constructed that it can be emptied either to the right hand or the left, so that the moulders can be supplied without leaving their work, causing confusion, or losing time.

Beyond the foundry are four departments in which a number of beautiful machine tools are at work, and very interesting processes carried on in the turning, drilling, screwing, engine-fitting, &c.; but we are fain to escape the roaring din, and pass forward to the great smithy, not, however, to find quiet amid the clamour made by these sons of Vulcan. This is the largest smith's shop, clear within four walls, that we are acquainted with. Its dimensions are 250 in length by 160 feet in width, and, in common with the other departments of the general structure, it is 40 feet in height. The smithy and foundry, with the erecting and machine shops intervening, cover about three acres of ground.

The plough, harrow, and rake-fitting shops, and the great painting shed, with the implement yard, bring distinctly before the visitor the specialties of the firm, in the highly improved implements for which they have been long known and highly celebrated, as they now are in addition for their steam ploughs and cultivators. The more prominent, although by no means the sole and exclusive objects of interest at the Britannia Works, are unquestionably the machines and implements relating to *tillage*, and foremost among these, their portable engines and steam-cultivating apparatus on the single and on the double engine systems. We believe that the firm has manufactured and sold above five hundred steam ploughs and cultivators, and that ample experience of their action has demonstrated that, simple in construction, they are easily managed by ordinary farm labourers, and that they are economical in wear, and in their work go deeper and pulverize the soil more thoroughly than in cultivation by horse-power. Messrs. Howard have added an effective harrow to the steam cultivating apparatus. The more generally attractive, although less imposing, objects, are probably

the horse ploughs on many different models, and adapted to every variety of use as regards the inclination of the land and the character of the soil to be operated upon, and the particular effect intended to be produced in the respective field operations to which the implements are to be applied. The celebrated "Champion Plough" is, as may be supposed, at the head of the class, having won fifteen first prizes of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, sixty-eight All-England prizes, and fifteen hundred local prizes. This plough, with almost all the others, is remarkable for its light and graceful form and proportions, and the beauty of its curves in the handles, beam, and especially the mould-board, sections of which would give an infinite series of beautiful variations upon Hogarth's line of beauty. The merits of this plough include, we believe, lightness of draught, suitability for both light and heavy land, its combining the advantages of the high-cutting plough with those of the rectangular or low-cutting plough. The other tillage implements manufactured are various and interesting, including numerous modifications of the harrow, turnip harrows, scarifiers, horse hoes, press-wheel and other field rollers, with horse rakes and haymaking machines that have attained extensive and well-earned fame. The firm have added a new machine to those enumerated—namely, a new mowing and reaping machine upon a plan brought from America by Mr. James Howard. This machine is so contrived as to cut lodged as cleanly as standing crops.

In addition to the machinery and implements connected with agriculture and agricultural operations manufactured at the Britannia Works, there is much about them and their management, economy, and processes, of interest to mechanics and engineers, as for instance their extensive use of machinery in moulding. They have above 100 of these machines in operation, and effect by their use an estimated saving of from £1,000 to £1,200 per annum. By these machines the most complicated patterns can be moulded by unskilled labourers: no trowels or water brushes are used, and there is no sleeking or jointing. The machines are extensively used by a number of other large firms under license from Messrs. Howard.

The firm have also patented recently a safety steam-boiler and super-heater, which is exciting considerable interest in the engineering world. The new boiler is constructed by a skilful arrangement of wrought-iron tubes, the bursting pressure of each of which is at least 2,000lb. to the square inch. The bursting of a boiler on this new construction is, we believe, a physical impossibility. It also offers important advantages in economizing fuel; in producing super-heated high-pressure steam; in the perfect circulation of the water, and consequent prevention of bursting or fouling of the tubes; in the simplicity of its parts and its durability; and it being portable, compact, and easily set. One of these new patent boilers was selected by the Royal Commissioners to drive the

machinery at the late Paris Exhibition. The patents which Messrs. J. & F. Howard have secured for improvements in steam cultivating machinery, horse ploughs, harrows, rakes, hay-makers, and other implements, are also numerous and valuable. The Britannia Works, which now cover in all, with the spacious implement and other yards about 16 acres, and give employment to 600 or 700 workpeople, are as favourably situated as they are spacious. Their construction and arrangement is upon an admirably simple plan, and free from the inconveniences which often attach to piecemeal enlargements of works. Essential features in the processes of manufacture are the immediate contiguity of the premises in which the consecutive stages of the work are carried on and in the facilities with which the respective portions of the work are forwarded from one department to another. No article, as a rule, passes over the same ground twice, but entering at one end of the works as raw material, passes through successive stages, and comes out at the other as finished goods. The division of labour is also carried out to the fullest extent, and results in perfection of manufacture. A plough for instance, passes through 120 pairs of hands in the course of making and finishing. It may be mentioned that as many as 200 ploughs have been despatched from the Britannia Works railway station in a single day.

The Messrs. Howard are eminently practical as well as scientific men, and in the exercise of their profession combine functions analogous to those of the architect and builder. They are for the greater part the designers and perfecters, as well as the constructors, of the machines and implements made at their works.

The farms belonging to the firm may almost be regarded in one sense an adjunct of the Britannia Works. These farms, chiefly of strong clay lands, are about 600 acres in extent, and are situated within a mile of the Bedford railway station. On these, and on the adjoining light land farm of about 500 acres, in the occupation of Mr. Charles Howard, the celebrated short-horn sheep-breeder, a brother of the partners, every facility is furnished for trying steam and horse ploughs, and other implements, and there they are improved as the result of continuous experiments and careful observation.

By applying at the offices the visitor may obtain admittance into this world-renowned agricultural implement manufactory.

The works have attracted large numbers of the most distinguished agriculturists of the United Kingdom and of Europe to visit them, as also celebrities from more distant parts of the world.

Amongst the many illustrious men who have visited the Britannia Works and Farms may be mentioned General Garibaldi, who accompanied by his eldest son, Menotti Garibaldi, the Duke of Sutherland, Lord Alfred Paget (Equerry to the Queen), General Eber, Alderman

Mechi, Col. Peard ("Garibaldi's Englishman"), and several other English and Italian friends of the General, paid a visit on the 15th of April, 1864, a day long to be remembered by the inhabitants of Bedford; and more recently a party of twenty Japanese, representatives of Prince Satsuma, of Kagosima, honoured them by an inspection. The late Prince Consort, just before his lamented death, had arranged with his Steward to pay the Messrs. Howard* a visit.

We then take the street opposite to the entrance of the Britannia Iron Works, and passing to the other end of it, we turn to the right, and are now on the road leading to Amptill. A few paces from us, on the right stands

The General Infirmary,

which was instituted in the year 1801. This spacious and substantial brick building, neatly faced and ornamented with stone, was erected in 1803, principally through the liberality and exertions of that noble-hearted and benevolent gentleman, the late Samuel Whitbread Esq., M.P., who gave, in 1797, towards its first establishment the sum of £10,000. Lord Hampton also gave to this Institution the sum of £1,000. The Marquis of Tavistock (who, it was said absolutely refused to spend a single shilling in a contested election for the county) presented the munificent sum of £2,000 towards enlarging the building in 1826. And the late Duke of Bedford gave £100 annually to this Institution, this subscription is still annually paid by his successor, the present Duke of Bedford. Several other liberal donations have been bestowed on it, besides a very long list of annual subscriptions. The government of this Infirmary is vested in the Grand-Visitor—His Grace the Duke of Bedford, the Perpetual-President—S. C. Whitbread Esq., and a body of Governors. Every benefactor of twenty guineas and upwards, at one payment, is a Governor for life, and every Subscriber of two guineas and upwards, annually, is a Governor during payment. The privilege which subscribers have of recommending patients is regulated according to the amount of their subscriptions. No subscribers of less than two guineas annually can recommend an In-patient. Every subscriber of one guinea annually, or benefactor of ten guineas at one payment, is entitled to recommend three Out-patients within the year. Every subscriber of two guineas annually, or benefactor of twenty guineas at one payment, is entitled to recommend one In-patient and four Out-patients; or two In-patients; or eight Out-patients. Annual subscribers of more than two guineas, and benefactors of more than twenty guineas, are respectively entitled to recommend patients in proportion to the amount of their

* Mr. James Howard was returned as Member of Parliament for this Borough in November, 1868; the numbers polled being as follows :---Mr. James Howard (L) 1,313, Mr. S. Whitbread (L) 1,241, Capt. Polhill-Turner (C) 764, Mr. E. O'Malley (C) 498.

subscriptions or benefactions, according to the scale adopted above. The chief of any Body Corporate, the Overseers or Guardians of any Parish, or the person presiding in any Society subscribing an annual sum, are entitled to the same right of recommending patients as other Annual Subscribers of the same sums.

The Physician and Surgeons attend at the Infirmary every Wednesday and Saturday morning, at eleven o'clock, to receive patients, &c. No patients are admitted at any other time, excepting cases of accident or emergency, which are admitted at any hour of the day, or night, without a letter of recommendation. The Chaplain attends and performs divine service on every Sunday and Thursday, and on such other occasions as the Patients may require his attention.

The election of officers is determined by a show of hands, unless a poll be demanded by any Governor, fifteen at least being present. Ladies only are entitled to vote by proxy.

A general Court of Governors is held on the first Monday in August, every year, when a Report of the state of the Infirmary, with an Abstract of the accounts for the past year, is laid before them; which Report is afterwards printed and published for the satisfaction of the Subscribers. A Monthly Board of Governors is held at the Infirmary on the first Monday in every Month, at twelve o'clock, to examine and pass the accounts of the preceding month, and to transact such other business as may be laid before them.

This Institution was originally intended only to benefit every class of sufferers in the county; but cases of need, occurring in the surrounding counties, are now permitted to participate in its benefits.

The building was at first erected to accommodate 50 patients, at an expense of £6,150, but it was found necessary in 1826, that it should be enlarged for the accommodation of 30 additional patients. A considerable enlargement was therefore made to this purpose, and the Infirmary was also at the same time furnished with offices, cellars, pantries, &c., at an expense of £4,000, which sum was raised by subscription. In 1848, it was provided with a Fever Hospital, which was opened on the 24th of June of that year.

The Infirmary is pleasantly situated on a high commanding ground, surrounded with open and extensive gravel paths, provided with seats, chairs, &c., for the convenience of the patients. Over the door is the following appropriate inscription:—"I WAS A STRANGER AND YE TOOK ME IN, I WAS SICK AND YE VISITED ME."

At a short distance from the Infirmary, on the other side of this road formerly stood the

Old Lunatic Asylum.

A very large and fine looking building of brick and stone, erected at a cost of £9,584. "It was opened" according to Parry "at Midsummer, 1812, under the statute 48 Geo. III., cap. 96, being the *first* county institution of the kind erected under the provisions of the Act of Parliament on the subject." It consisted of one main building, three stories high, exclusive of kitchens, cellars, &c., below, having a projecting centre with a pediment, and terminated with two projecting wings, uniformly with the centre. The middle part of the building was occupied by the superintendent and household of the establishment, and contained a committee room for the visiting magistrates, who used to meet for business on the first Monday of each month: the right side was appropriated for male, and the left for female patients, while the wings had each a common sitting-room, hospital, and nursery for their respective departments. It was capable of accommodating 180 patients, was well arranged, excellently ventilated, and furnished with every convenience for the physical or medical treatment of its unfortunate inmates. It was also provided with extensive grounds for air and exercise, as well as a large piece of garden ground which afforded an ample supply of vegetable produce for the consumption of all belonging to the institution. The building stood at a distance of about 200 feet from the road, had a beautiful shrubbery in front with a fine broad semicircular carriage way to the outer or wall gate of the building, which might be entered at either end of the shrubbery, and was entirely surrounded by a lofty brick wall, having a handsome entrance.

On the 21st of September, 1846, an agreement was entered into with the County of Hertford and the Borough of Bedford, under the ninth section of the Act, for the joint use of the Asylum, whereby it was stipulated that the former should pay a rent of £420, and the latter £30 per annum; the repairs to be borne by the County of Bedford. The number of patients to be received at any one time from the County of Hertford, being limited to 120, unless provision be made for a greater number. The number of Visitors for each County was fixed to be 10, and for the Borough 1. The Committee, thus constituted, had it in contemplation to make certain alterations and improvements in the Asylum, which however were postponed in consequence of a subsequent negotiation for admitting to its benefits the County of Huntingdon, which was completed on the 11th of May, 1847, with the stipulation that the annual rent should be £210 for the first ten years of the union, to commence on the 29th of September, 1846, subject to a reduction at the expiration of that term to £160 per annum. And the number of

patients not to exceed 42, unless provision be made for a greater number. The Committee of Visitors was therefore then formed in the following proportions, viz.—

Bedfordshire	10	Visitors.
Hertfordshire	10	"
Huntingdonshire	7	"
Borough of Bedford	1	"
<hr/>		
Total.....	28	

In consequence of this latter arrangement it became necessary to provide additional accommodation for an increased number of patients. The total number for each County was estimated as follows, viz. :—

Bedfordshire (including Bedford)	90	Patients
Hertfordshire	120	"
Huntingdonshire..	42	"
<hr/>		
Total	252	

The Asylum at that time could not properly accommodate more than 180 patients, leaving 78 to be provided for. The Committee therefore had plans prepared for providing this additional accommodation, as well as for effecting certain necessary alterations and improvements in the old buildings, in regard to ventilation and kitchen accommodation. These plans (after a few alterations suggested by the Commissioners in Lunacy) were finally approved by the Secretary of State, and an outlay of £4,000 was sanctioned at the Bedfordshire Quarter Sessions, for the purpose of carrying out the said plans. The Visitors then accepted proposals for the execution of the several works at a total cost of £4,574 8s., which was borne exclusively by the County of Bedford, from the revenues of the Asylum estate ; with the exception of £350, which the Justices of Hertfordshire agreed to contribute towards certain of the alterations in the old building, and erecting a new kitchen, to which that County by the fourth clause of the agreement for union was liable.

In course of time this structure was condemned as unsuitable for the modern ameliorative treatment of insanity, and incapable of alteration without great expense ; and a large handsome Asylum, embracing more modern sanitary and scientific improvements was erected and opened in 1860, at the joint expense of the three Counties, on an elevated site at Stotfold, twelve miles from Bedford, adjoining the Arlsey Brickyard Station. The structure, styled

The Three Counties' Asylum,

was designed by Mr. George Fowler Jones, of York, architect, under the

direction of Mr. Hill, resident medical superintendent of the North and East Ridings of the County of York Asylum. The cost of its erection including the purchase of land, and fitting it up with furniture, fixtures, and clothing, was £115,000.

About 254 acres of land are attached to the Asylum for the out-door employment of the patients, as well as extensive farm buildings. A fifth part of this land, which is a red loam on gravel, is used for garden cultivation, a large portion of the produce being sent to the London and Birmingham markets. Smiths, carpenter's, plumber's, painter's, tailor's, and shoemaker's workshops have been built for the employment of the male inmates; the female patients are employed in sewing, washing, and laundry work. The rooms are lofty, light, and airy, and are warmed with open fire-places. A gasometer has been set up in order that the Asylum may be supplied with gas. New roads throughout the estate have recently been laid; a tramway about a mile long, with gradients rising 1 in 75, running under the buildings into the cellars, connects the Asylum with the Great Northern Railway. A neat Gothic chapel of early English design, with a nave, chancel, and aisle has been erected, in which a short service is held daily in the morning, and a house has been built for the chaplain, about three-quarters of a mile distant from the Asylum.

The number of patients in this Asylum on the 18th December, 1867, was as follows:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
From Bedfordshire.....	77	93	170
„ Hertfordshire	115	133	248
„ Huntingdonshire.....	41	48	89
„ Borough of Bedford.....	9	12	21
	<hr/> 242	<hr/> 286	<hr/> 528

To this must be added 20 female patients removed this time last year to Fisherton Asylum, and the numbers at present out on trial, viz:—males. 5; females, 3; total, 8; making the numbers on the books of the Asylum 556.

Retracing our steps towards the town, and continuing our course over the railway bridge we soon reach Ampthill Street, and find ourselves facing St. John's Street.

Just before reaching the London and North Western and Bedford and Cambridge Railway Station, we pass on the right *St. Leonard's Farm*, the property of the Duke of Bedford, where formerly stood a monastic hospital, known as

St. Leonard's Hospital;

which was founded either in the latter part of the twelfth or in the

commencement of the thirteenth century, and endowed with a considerable tract of land in the County, and several other emoluments by the "Townsmen" of Bedford, for six poor monks or friars, who no doubt were to pray generally for the town. The Lysons inform us that a record, bearing the date of 1302, calls it "the poor house of St. Leonard, in which were six 'freres chapleynes' wearing a religious habit.—(Rolls of Parliament, vol. 1, page 154)."

In the reign of Henry VII., the patronage of this hospital was given by the Corporation to Sir Reginald Bray, on account of the valuable assistance he had rendered in getting their fee farm rent reduced.—*Leyland*.

"It appears that the manor of Everton, on the borders of the county, (write the Lysons in '*Magna Britannia*') belonged to this hospital,* the revenues of which were valued in 1535, at £16 6s. 8½d. per annum." It was dissolved in the time of Henry VIII., together with several other religious houses in this neighbourhood, which we have already noticed. Its revenues at the time of its suppression, were £46 6s. 8d. The site of it, which is in St. John's parish, is now a farm belonging to the Duke of Bedford. An ancient dial plate, a bronze key, a silver coin, and a corbel-head, found by Mr. E. Masters, in the Priory of St. Leonard's, Bedford, were exhibited by Mr. James Wyatt at the annual meeting of the Bedfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society, held in the General Library, Bedford, June 21, 1849.

A few yards from this farm stands the bridge on the London road, over the Cambridge Railway. Looking in a south-westerly direction from this bridge we get a view of the tower of

Elstow Church ;

and in the opposite direction may be seen from this bridge the ruined walls of

Newnham Priory,

about which, as well as Elstow church, we spoke to the Visitor (as he will remember) before we commenced our walk.

Close to this bridge stands the *Station belonging to the London and North Western and the Bedford and Cambridge Railways*. A few yards from this station runs the Midland Railway at right angles with the London and North Western. London is about 48 miles on the left (when facing Elstow), and Leicester 50 miles on our right by the Midland Railway. And London is 63 miles by the London and North Western

* Placit. Inquis. &c., de terris in Com. Bed. in Turr. Lond.

running towards Elstow, while Cambridge is $29\frac{1}{2}$ miles, by the Bedford and Cambridge Railway running through Newnham Priory.

“Very few railways have been undertaken with a more single eye for public utility rather than for private gain, than

The Bedford and Cambridge Railway ;

and in serving itself the County has been conscious of largely benefiting its neighbours. Bedfordshire may claim it as a public work mainly of its own creation, for its most active promoters have been the landowners and men of business of the County ; and with a less energetic directory it would probably have succumbed to the opposition it encountered from rivals so formidable and influential as the Great Northern and Eastern Counties Railway. It is a bare act of justice to acknowledge the exertions which Mr. Whitbread* has made to carry this undertaking to a successful issue ; and it is our conviction that the identification of his name with the formation of the railways which intersect the County, like the association of the house of Russell with the Bedford Level, will prove more honourable and enduring than any party or political triumph. From 1852 to 1858 the project of a line from Bedford to Cambridge was kept alive by frequent discussion, but it was not until Mr. Whitbread, acting in concurrence with the North Western Company, took up the subject in 1858, that the matter assumed a practical shape. A company was formed and a capital sought to be raised of £240,000, in shares of £10. Of this sum the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Whitbread subscribed one-tenth in equal proportions, and many landowners and men of business in the town and County came forward and subscribed with an equal liberality, their relative means and interest in the undertaking being taken into account. The proposed railway came before Parliament, and encountered a determined opposition from the two lines who arrogated to themselves the exclusive dominion of East Anglia, although, both in their turn had sought for and obtained powers to construct a line to Bedford. The Eastern Counties Railway was placed in front of the battle by its more astute ally, who simply put forward a technical plea against the engineering plans for the proposed point of junction with their own line. The opposition of the Eastern Counties Railway was based on a want of traffic to justify a new line, or any necessity for it. By an unfortunate misunderstanding the promoters were led to withhold the strong mass of evidence in their hands on the anticipated through traffic of the line—a circumstance which aided in the rejection of the preamble before committee. In 1860 it again came forward amended, triumphed in Committee, and the Act for its formation was passed August 6, 1860. The contract for its construction was taken by

* The late William Henry Whitbread, Esq., of Southill.

Mr. Joseph Firbank, and a commencement made May, 1861. The new line underwent in the latter part of June, 1862, a very rigid scrutiny from the Government Inspector, and was pronounced satisfactory after a slight alteration of the signals at Cambridge had been prescribed."

The Bedford and Cambridge Railway was opened on the 4th of July, 1862. Having only a single line of rails, it is worked by what is termed "the staff system," which is doubtless the most perfect method devised for rendering collisions impossible on single lines, and where there are no telegraph wires.

The opening of the

Leicester and Hitchin Railway

took place on Thursday, May 7, 1857. Concerning this interesting event, the *Bedford Times* of May 9, 1857, gave the following particulars:—

In celebration of the opening, arrangements had been made for an excursion along the line, and in order that the inhabitants might have an opportunity of enjoying a pleasant ride all the shops were closed, streamers waved from buildings in different parts of the town, which presented most unmistakeably, indications of a general holiday. To show how heartily the arrangements were appreciated, crowds of people were flocking to the station to secure their places, several hours before the time fixed upon for the departure of the trains. The Mayor, aldermen, and councillors, assembled at the Shire Hall at half-past 8 o'clock, and accompanied by Mr. Barnard, M.P., several magistrates and other gentlemen walked in procession to the station, preceded by the band of the Bedfordshire Militia. The several servants of the Corporation and of the Harpur Charity in uniform, were in attendance. It had been arranged that two trains should be dispatched from Bedford; one consisting of first and second class carriages, and the other confined to the third class, to leave at nine and a quarter-past nine, respectively. The procession having arrived at the arrival side of the London and North Western station, no time was lost in taking possession of the carriages, and at a few minutes past nine the whistle sounded, the band, occupying an open carriage in front of those occupied by the town council, striking up a merry tune, and the train numbering thirty-three carriages first and second, started slowly on its journey. The number of persons present to witness the departure was immense; the several bridges, and on each side the line from Bedford to beyond the Bromham road, were thickly studded with human beings waving their handkerchiefs, and expressing many hearty wishes for the safe return of their friends. As the line of country through which the rail passes in this county is so well known to our readers, it will not be necessary to give a minute description of every object which meets the eye of the passenger. After leaving Bedford the road lies through the valley of the Ouse, over which it passes several times in its course through the parishes of Clapham and Oakley. After passing the picturesque village of Sharnbrook with its church, which forms an interesting object, the train comes to the cutting through Wymington hill, which is the largest cutting on the line. On emerging on the other end the passenger soon finds himself looking upon scenery somewhat different in character to that which he has just left behind; tall spires are seen rising up above the foliage of the trees on every side, adding grace and beauty to the landscape. The train has now crossed the border and is fairly in Northamptonshire. The line crosses the Nene before reaching Wellingborough, round which the river winds its course like a snake, in some parts no wider than a brooklet, and then swelling into a stream of tolerable width. The flourishing little town of Kettering is the next place of note, in passing

which, the traveller obtains a full view of the church, a large and handsome building. The fine estate of the Duke of Buccleuch near Kettering, is remarkable for the numerous avenues formed of elm and other trees of stately growth, in every direction, and extending altogether upwards of fifty miles. Boughton House is well worthy of a visit, containing amongst other attractions some very valuable cartoons. Opposite to this nobleman's estate, and on the left of the line, is the village of Rothwell. The church is not remarkable for its architecture, but in one of the vaults there is a considerable quantity of human bones, the unusually large size of which has greatly puzzled antiquarian visitors. The skulls are stacked up, forming a kind of wall, and look like a lot of huge turnips piled one upon another; the leg, arm, and other bones which make up the human skeleton are thrown in a heap behind the skulls. The little village of Desborough is the next point, where there is a deep cutting through a strata geologically known as iron stone. The highest point on the line occurs about the middle of this cutting, and is said to be about 250 feet above the Bedford level. About this part of the line a number of villages are to be seen on every side. Near Braybrook there is a curious triangular building, on the left going from Bedford, which is pointed out as the place where Sir Thomas Tresham, Guy Fawkes, and the other conspirators used to hold their meetings, previous to attempting to blow up King James and his Parliament. It is now only a skeleton building, and is allowed to remain for the inspection of the curious. Before reaching Market Harborough the line crosses the Welland, which in this part is a small stream separating the counties of Northampton, and Leicester. The valley of the Welland extending over many miles, is considered, the finest feeding land in England. Many thousands of stock in lean condition are turned into these rich pastures in the spring of the year, and in the following September the herds and flocks are thoroughly fattened for the market. The farmers of Bedfordshire who happen to occupy poor land will now have frequent opportunities of gazing upon the celebrated pastures of the Welland, whose feeding qualities are deemed by the fortunate holders to be far more effectual than oil cake or Egyptian beans. The train arrived at Market Harborough about eleven o'clock, where it was detained a short time. The number of spectators at this as well as at the other stations was very great; streamers were floating from the churches, and a spirit of joyousness seemed to prevail generally. Dingley Hall, a spacious and handsome residence, is situated a few miles from the last mentioned town, and the mention of it will remind the reader of a certain matrimonial adventure of a gallant colonel, who endeavoured to obtain possession of a rich heiress, the niece of the present owner. The village of Great Bowden is the next place on this line, and then come the five Langtons all in a row, and almost parallel with the railway,—East Langton, West Langton, Thorpe Langton, Church Langton, and Butolph Langton. Near one of these villages there is a small clump of firs which are stated to occupy the highest spot in the county. Amongst the other objects which meet the eye may be mentioned the village of Gumley, not far from which, is situated the seat of Sir Henry Halford. The line separates Kibworth Beauchamp from Kibworth Harcourt, and after passing the village of Oadley, the smoky appearance of the atmosphere and the church spires and tall chimneys that came in view, betokened the approach of the train to Leicester. In a few minutes the station was gained and the train poured forth a long stream of the Bedford visitors. The Mayor and Corporation were met at the station by Mr. Ellis, the chairman of the Midland Railway Directors, and other gentlemen, who gave his worship and friends a hearty welcome. Mr. Underwood, the Mayor of Leicester, having to attend a council meeting that morning, was unable to meet his brother chief magistrate of Bedford on his arrival. Shortly after the passengers of the first Bedford train were disposed of, the third class train came in sight, accompanied by a band of music which joined at Market Harborough. This train consisted of 35 carriages, and all of them were crammed to the utmost. On leaving the station the visitors proceeded to make the best of the short time allowed to inspect the most interesting objects to be seen in Leicester. The streets were thronged, everybody seemed in good humour, and it is only justice to add that the good people of the town, of all classes, evinced a hearty desire to give the visitors a cordial greeting. Leicester is a large populous town, and its business-like appearance is calculated to produce a very cheerful effect

on a stranger. Amongst the various objects worthy of notice and which were visited on Thursday, the following may be enumerated:—The Temperance or Musio Hall, erected a few years ago at a cost of £10,000. This handsome building was thrown open to the public, and the children of the Bedford Union, about 70 in number, who had been allowed to join the excursionists, were treated to refreshments in one of the smaller rooms. In the market-place, which is large, stands the Corn Exchange, reached by a "romantic flight of steps." The market-house is under the corn exchange but as to the design of the building, a local critic, in a small handbill circulated for the information of the visitors, thinks "the less said the better." The Public Baths in the New walk are worthy of a visit, as is also the Museum. All the Churches and other public buildings were opened. St. Mary's, St. Margaret's, and St. John's, and indeed all the churches are worthy the attention of visitors, and will well repay inspection.

Soon after one o'clock the Mayor and Corporation of Bedford, and several lady visitors, partook of lunch at the railway station, to which they had been hospitably invited by the directors; the Mayor and a number of the leading men of Leicester were also present. Mr. Ellis, chairman of the directors, presided. Having partaken of the bountiful provisions, preparations were made for the return journey. The first train arrived soon after two, and arrived in Bedford at half-past four. The second train arrived about five o'clock. The arrangements reflected the highest credit on all concerned; not a single accident occurred to mar the day's pleasure; the Mayor of Bedford, and those who acted with him, as well as the officials on the line, were indefatigable in their exertions to secure the comfort and safety of all present at the opening ceremony, and it is gratifying to be able to record that the details were carried out satisfactorily.

THE DINNER

Took place at the Bedford Rooms, under the direction of Mr. C. Higgins of the Swan Hotel. About 174 sat down, W. W. Kilpin, Esq., (mayor) presided; supported on his right by Sir George Osborn, Bart., the High Sherriff; J. Underwood, Esq., the Mayor of Leicester; T. Barnard, Esq., M.P. On the left were S. Whitbread, Esq., M.P.; J. Ellis, Esq., Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Midland Railway Company; Rev. J. Wing, Leicester; Rev. J. W. C. Campion, Colonel King, Captain Crosbie, Captain Polhill-Turner, Captain E. Thornton, and other gentlemen were at the chairman's table. Mr. W. Hill performed the duties of Vice-chairman. Justice having been done to the very excellent repast, and the cloth removed, *Non nobis Domine* was sung by Messrs. Fielding, Russell, Glover, and Baldwin.

The first toast was that of the Queen, which was duly honoured.

The National Anthem by the professionals, the company joining in chorus

"Prince Albert and the rest of the Royal family," was received with the usual enthusiasm.

The Mayor then proposed the Bishops, Clergy, and other Ministers of Religion, coupling the toast with the name of the Rev. E. G. Bayly.

The Rev. E. G. Bayly returned his sincere thanks for the compliment paid him, and in doing so, wished to say that he was not one of those who was ashamed to confess that he had great regard for ministers of other religious denominations, as well as his own. (cheers.) Although he was sincerely attached to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England: still he thought there was standing room in the gospel sufficient for all to build their faith upon, and he hoped never to be wanting on his part in the discharge of those duties which were consistent with the institution to which he belonged. He happened to have the friendship of many dissenting ministers, and he esteemed them greatly; for he always esteemed a man when he practised what he preached in all godly sincerity. (hear, hear.) But he would not detain them with any more remarks on that point, but offer his sincere congratulations upon the event which that meeting was intended to celebrate. The time for talking about the advantages of railways had long passed: increase of population and increase of commerce had made England very great. She owed her power to the enterprise of her people, and to the important means of communication which she internally possessed. Had Russia possessed the same means of communication in her vast dominions, England might have been carrying on the war still. The advantages of

rapid communication had been witnessed that day, by which many of the company had been enabled to go 50 miles and back comfortably in time for dinner. While, however, expressing admiration at the ingenuity of man, in contriving this rapid conveyance from one place to another, he would not have them to forget the railway of life, and the goal to which it leads. Let them look forward honestly and faithfully, their watch-word being—excelsior, excelsior. (hear, hear.)

The Mayor gave the Army and Navy, which was briefly responded to by Col. King. Duet—Albion.

The Mayor said the next toast on his list was that of the representative of Her Majesty for this county—the Lord Lieutenant. (cheers.) The honourable baronet was also the representative of one of the oldest families in the county. (cheers.) He was sure that all rejoiced to see him amongst them, and that they would show by a cordial reception of the toast, that they were anxious to welcome him home to the domains of his ancestors—the health of Sir George Osborn, the High Sheriff, (the toast was received with enthusiasm).

The High Sheriff, in returning thanks, said that having been honoured by an invitation from the Mayor of this borough to attend this meeting, he felt every possible pleasure in responding, because on all occasions he could not but feel a very deep interest in all that concerned the welfare of this town and county. (cheers.) It was now too late to expatiate upon the topic of railways or upon the advantages which they had conferred not only upon England but upon the whole world. (hear, hear.) It appeared they had met to celebrate the completion of the Leicester and Hitchin branch, a most important link in the railway system of England. When they looked upon the great advance of civilization which had now been carried to almost every corner of the world, nothing had contributed more effectually to that object, or conferred greater advantages on the human race, than the railway system. (hear, hear.) The Leicester and Hitchin was a small link in the great chain of communication, but he considered it a most important one, and had no doubt would prove very beneficial to the public. (hear, hear.)

Song—Mother dear.

The MAYOR said he had received letters of apology, from Mr. W. H. Whitbread, the Recorder of Bedford, Colonel Gilpin, M.P., Mr. Hastings Russell, M.P., Colonel Higgins, Mr. Pym, and other gentlemen, all of whom stated they were unable to attend owing to circumstances over which they had no control. He would now propose the toast of the evening. They had met to celebrate the opening of the Leicester and Hitchin Railway: a line which had always been thought of with great anxiety by the Inhabitants of Bedford, as they believed that it would be of essential service to the town and neighbourhood (hear, hear). This branch was one of the links of the vast chain of communication so necessary for the prosperity of the commerce of this country. It was too late to talk of the advantages of railways—the advantages were patent to all. Many of them would remember the time when how proud they felt if they could travel by the good old "Times" coach (hear, hear). But that system has passed away, and a more rapid mode of conveyance had succeeded. Of the speed of travelling on the new railway they had experienced a proof that day; and he for one felt extremely grateful to the directors for having made that beautiful line on which many of them had travelled to day, and for the arrangement by which so many hundreds of persons had been taken to Leicester and brought safe home again (hear, hear). That so many should be conveyed such a distance safely and without apparent trouble evinced the excellence of the management from beginning to end (hear, hear). He must confess that he had felt great anxiety as to the result of this day's celebration, but he had not heard of the slightest accident, and therefore after witnessing how satisfactorily everything had gone off, he must express his gratitude to the directors for the care which had been evinced for the lives and limbs of the passengers (hear, hear). But having said this, he must be allowed to express a hope that when the line shall be in regular working order the directors would give them a little later train from London than what appeared in the time table (loud and continued applause). We need not say more on that subject, as the gentlemen would fully understand the feelings of the meeting (hear, hear). At the same time, while giving expression to his

own feeling and that of his friends, he had no wish to urge anything the directors should not consider safe and proper to the shareholders; he was perfectly satisfied to leave the matter to the honour of the directors; after the very handsome treat they had afforded them to-day he was confident they would do all they could to meet the wants of the public (hear, hear). The advantages of this line have been spoken of during many years past, and hence great anxiety has been felt by the inhabitants of this county. It brought them into more immediate connection with the metropolis on the one hand, and the manufacturing and mineral districts of the north on the other. The prospectus spoke in strong terms on these advantages, and also stated that the facilities on this line for traffic would tend to regulate the supply of coals, the price of which would become considerably reduced (cheers). Such were some of the benefits which were to be secured to this county on the completion of the line;—that it is a most beautiful line every one of them could testify, and he trusted no unfortunate circumstances might occur to prevent their fullest anticipations being realized (hear, hear). As a town he thought they had cause to rejoice, for an increase of trade must follow the opening of the new branch. When the Bletchley branch opened the traffic brought to the town averaged about 200 tons a month: the average now was 2,000 tons a month; coals 1,600 tons a month; but of course other branches of trade increase upon the same principle. The Midland Company was one of the most extensive in the kingdom, and they had the honoured presence of the chairman and several directors of that great corporation (applause). It is chiefly to the great energy and sound commercial views of the chairman that the company has risen to its present gigantic dimensions (hear, hear). Perhaps they would allow him to furnish some details which would give an idea of the extent of the company's dominions. The Midland Counties Railway passed from Rugby to Derby, 57 miles; from Derby to Leeds, 74 miles; from Derby to Birmingham, 41 miles; from Birmingham to Bristol, 95 miles; several other lines to Nottingham, Peterborough, &c., making 233 miles, which gave a total of 600 miles: lastly from Leicester to Hitchin, 62½ miles, making a grand total of 662½ miles of railway. The capital of the company is 21 millions. The staff list numbers 9,000 persons. 400 locomotives; 1,000 passenger carriages. He did not know whether the carriage he had the pleasure of riding in to-day was to be considered a sample of the stock of the first class; but he must say it was one of the most beautiful carriages he ever saw (hear, hear). There were also 10,000 carriages for stock and 10,000 for minerals. The gross receipts reached £1,200,000 per annum. In conclusion, he was quite satisfied that they were in the hands of a company that meant to go a-head, and who meant to carry passengers in the shortest possible time with the greatest possible amount of safety (hear, hear). He wished therefore to call upon the meeting to drink to the health of the Chairman and Directors of the Midland Counties Railway Company, coupling with the toast the name of Mr. Ellis (drunk with all the honours).

Mr. Ellis said, in the name of the absent and present, he begged to return thanks for the very cordial manner in which they had given reception to the toast. He regretted so many of the directors were absent: three of them were attending to their parliamentary duties, the others were prevented by various circumstances, so that out of the 17 only seven were present. The opening of a railway in England was now, happily, no novelty. This county had branches belonging to other great companies, as one of which he had the honour of being a director; but other communications were necessary to complete the arrangements. It was not difficult to perceive the advantage that must arise from a direct communication from Leicester to Bedfordshire and Hitchin. Leicester has grown into an important place: we want your corn and you want our minerals and manufactures (hear, hear). If you will exchange with us we will give you plenty back again (hear, hear). After alluding to the tedious mode of travelling by coach, he enumerated some of the advantages accruing from the railway system. He believed that no 300 millions spent in other matters had produced half the beneficial effects in the social and moral welfare of the human race, as had been produced with the same amount invested in railways (cheers). He was one of the oldest directors, and could bear witness to the advantages derived from railways, and take all in all, they were among the most useful enterprises of the day.

With respect to this line, he would just remark that the company would be most willing to accommodate this town and county, provided the town and county afforded the means. It was useless to disguise the fact; the line was for business purposes, and it was the duty of the directors to make it pay so as to secure dividends for the shareholders. In reply to an observation of the Chairman he was not quite sure that it would answer to run an engine in the evening; but when information to that effect be communicated to the directors, they would immediately take the subject into consideration. The company would always be found ready to put on additional engines should there be customers sufficient to pay for them. As he said before, it was a matter of business, and whilst on the one hand, the directors were anxious to do all in their power to benefit the public, they were at the same time anxious to benefit the shareholders. (hear, hear.) The parliamentary and legal expenses attending all these undertakings were enormous, and under any circumstances large dividends were out of the question. He desired to bear testimony to the liberality of Mr. Whitbread, who had not only sold his land at a moderate price, but had very materially assisted the company by taking stock, and had otherwise rendered essential service in bringing the undertaking to maturity. He wished also to pay a similar compliment to the Duke of Bedford; in fact he might say that the company had experienced more liberality from the landowners and other proprietors of this county than ever they had experienced previously. When the line was first projected one of the directors (the deputy-chairman) said the traffic would only consist of turnips; but had he been present to-day he would have come to the conclusion that in addition to farm produce, there was a great number of people who would avail themselves of the railway. (hear.) He concluded by again thanking the company for the compliment paid the directors, assuring them that no exertions should be wanting on their part to meet the wants of the public, consistent with their duty to the shareholders. (applause.)

Comic song—Mr. Bruton.

The Vice-chairman proposed the County Members, which was drunk with the usual honours.

Mr. Alderman Williams in suitable terms proposed the Borough Members, (drunk with three times three).

Mr. Whitbread in responding, explained that Mr. Hastings Russell intended to have been present had not his parliamentary duties prevented him. He briefly thanked the meeting for the kind manner in which they had received the toast.

Mr. Barnard also responded. He had intended to have accompanied the excursion train to Leicester; but in consequence of receiving a communication to the effect that there was a probability of a division on the address, he felt it to be his duty to go up to London. He was happy to say that no division took place; and he came down with his friend and colleague to be present on this auspicious occasion. He congratulated the town and county on the completion of the line between Leicester and Hitchin, and had no doubt that the direct communication with the north would confer immense benefit on the inhabitants generally. (applause.)

Song—Mynheer Von Dunck.

Mr. Ellis proposed the health of the Mayor of Bedford, which was drunk with three times three.

The Mayor responded in suitable terms. He had always felt an interest in the Leicester line, believing that a direct communication with the north would be one of the greatest boons that could possibly be given to this town. With respect to the proceedings of this day, his anxiety had been very great, and therefore he could not help but feel extremely grateful to all who had assisted in this celebration, that the arrangements had been carried out so satisfactorily. (applause.)

Mr. S. Wing proposed the health of Mr. W. H. Whitbread. It was entirely on account of his health that Mr. Whitbread had been compelled to decline attending this celebration. They all knew that it was chiefly through his energy and liberality that the public owed the completion of this important line of communication.

Song—Tom Bowling.

Mr. Whitbread proposed the commerce and agriculture of the Town and County of Bedford.

Mr. Charles Howard and Mr. George Hurst responded in excellent speeches.

Mr. Barnard proposed the health of the Mayor of Leicester, who responded, expressing a hope that the intercourse so auspiciously commenced between the inhabitants of Bedford and Leicester, might long continue to the advantage of both towns.

Several other speeches were made, and the proceedings terminated about half-past eleven.

The singing of the London professionals gave great satisfaction.

Proceeding on our way back to the town, through St. John's Street, we pass on our right

The Church and Hospital of St. John (the Baptist),

an ancient monastic institution, believed to have been founded by Robert de Parys, in the tenth century ; and endowed for a master and two or more co-brethren, or priests, who were to pray for the founder's soul. The earliest date of this institution, writes Matthiason, is given 980 ; but that of the register of Lincoln being evidently a mistake or interpolation, (A.D. Millo Nono Centesimo LXXX), a great deal of difference has arisen relative to its real date. It is most probable that the different dates refer to separate endowments ; and that about the year 1280, which Lysons gives for its origin, it was considerably enlarged for the reception and support of the poor freemen of Bedford, by the munificence of the St. John family ; and that previous to that period it was merely a Bedehouse or oratory ; the conditions of its enlargement being that the inmates were to pray for the soul of this benefactor, John St. John, his family, and descendants. From this provision for the poor freemen of the town, it would appear that from this period the hospital was under the protection of the Corporation, as the church and hospital had been united long before the Reformation ; about which time an attempt was made to deprive it of its ancient character, and to seize the church as parochial into the King's hands. On this occasion, according to a MS in the British Museum, it sets forth its title and claim to be exempted from confiscation ; showing that for 400 years it had been an hospital, and the church used as the hospital church ; that it had a common seal of which no other public church was possessed ; and that many of its donations and legacies had been made prior to Edward the First. This date established its existence previous to the endowment of the St. John's ; it is therefore probable that the date of 980 is the correct one. An ancient manuscript is also mentioned prescribing the "co-frieres" to be of the order of St. Augustine ; and the alms-men to wear red crosses.

The interior of the church though small is remarkably neat, it contains nothing requiring particular notice, besides several flat and mural monuments at the east end to the memory of former Rectors and Masters, with some fine coats of arms. Parry writes,—“From its style of architecture, it can scarcely be thought to have been the original

church of the hospital, and has perhaps been rebuilt, but it has been partly modernized, this cannot be easily ascertained." It has only one aisle with pews on each side, about the middle of which on one side stands the pulpit, and on the other the desk; a small open chancel at the east end, and a neat tower of rather fine dimensions (for the size of the building) at the west end. The tower contains only one bell, towards the purchase of which the Duke of Bedford presented the parish with a very liberal contribution in 1826, the old one having become cracked in consequence of its violent demonstrations at the time of the election. The entire length of the church from east to west, including of course the chancel, is 117 feet; the height of the tower is 67 feet. The top of the church is furnished with battlements as well as the tower. The windows which are all on the south side, excepting that of the chancel, are plain but light in their appearance, the latter is large and fine for the size of the church. The living is in the gift of the Corporation. The present rector is the Rev. Henry Pearse, M.A.

The Lysons in their "Magna Britannia" dated 1806, inform us that "many years before the Reformation the hospital had ceased to be occupied according to the direction of the founder, and it appears by surveys made of chantries and hospitals in the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI., that the hospital and parish church of St. John had long been consolidated, and that there was no minister in that parish with the cure of souls but the master of the said hospital. It appears also, by other records, that the presentation to these joint offices was vested in the Corporation of Bedford. The right of the Corporation has been frequently contested by persons claiming the houses and lands belonging to the hospital under grants from the crown; but the Corporation, or rather the master and co-brethren, have been always successful. It was determined so early as 1552, upon a suit which took place after the first grant, that the hospital did not come under the description of superstitious establishments, intended to be abolished by the statute. Since the last decision in 1743, the master and co-brethren have continued in quiet possession, and the Corporation have enjoyed, unmolested, their right of presentation. The master or rector and co-brethren have been, from very ancient time, a body corporate, and have had a common seal. The co-brethren, who are poor freemen of Bedford appointed by the master, have no apartment in the hospital, which adjoins St. John's church, and has been long appropriated as the rectory house. The ancient hall is still remaining. The estate is held on lease under the master and co-brethren."

Divine Service is performed here every Sunday three times a day, at 11 a.m., 3 p.m., and 6.30 p.m.

The hospital was formerly large and lofty, but having been recently altered for the convenience of a residence, no idea can now be formed of

what it used to be. The hospital contains a master and twelve brethren. "The windows and the whole air of the buildings are of Gothic cast, the roofs being ornamented below with little pendant arches and at each angle of the vertex with a little spire, the number of which being considerable, from the extent and variety of the façade, gives it actually the appearance of a little modern convent."—*Matthiason*.

The following is a translation of the Ordinance of Robert de Parys, (showing the translation variations), and of Bishop Beaufort's Ratification thereof.

"ORDINANCE.

Be it remembered that in the year of our Lord* Nine hundred and eighty, Robert de Parys, Founder of the New Hospital of Saint John the Baptist in the Town of Bedford for the Declaration of Estate of the same Hospital in future willeth and ordaineth, so far as in himself is, that in the said Hospital there be two or three Brethren according to the faculty of the said Hospital, of whom the more advanced do hold the place of Master, which Brethren together let them say Matins, and other Canonical hours, and celebrate Divine offices for the living and for the dead, every day, accordingly to the Estate of the said Hospital; and together also let them eat in the Hall, and lie in the Dormitory; and let them bear decent clothing, and priestly tonsure, with one mantle of black cloth or of other decent color, according to the disposition of the Master which Brethren also at their admission, shall swear obedience to the Master aforesaid, and that they shall stand in the same Hospital for term of their life, psalming and praying for the soul of the said Robert de Parys, the Founder, and for the souls of John and Henry Saint John, and of John Le Neve, and also [of them] who have given rents or possessions to the same Hospital or shall give in future. The aforesaid founder willeth also and ordaineth that all poor [Men] who are of free birth of the aforesaid Town, in which the same Hospital is situate, if they shall have come to *that*† poverty by misfortune, and without their own fault, and‡ ask sustenance in the same Hospital§ be charitably received in the same House by the Master and Co-Brethren; all poor [Men] born out of the Town of Bedford, being utterly repuled, nor shall it be lawful to the Mayor nor to the Bailiffs of Bedford, nor to the Burgesses of the same *Town*|| to present any poor [Man] to the said Hospital before that he shall have been presented to me or my Successors, and with my will, or [that] of my Successors, he shall be received and that all the excesses of the same Brethren, committed within the closes of the Hospital aforesaid, or without, be corrected and

* *One thousand*, prefixed in Bp. Longland's copy, but marked as an error by points.

† *any*, Longland.

‡ *be offered*, added in Beaufort's copy.

§ Added in Longland's copy.

|| Omitted in Longland.

punished by the Master aforesaid. And if the Brethren shall be found rebellious in the correction aforesaid, let them be corrected by the Bishop. Let the default of the Master himself lawfully proved be corrected by the Bishop himself. The aforesaid Founder willeth also and ordaineth that every Brother at his Admission take a corporal oath to hold and firmly observe all the Articles above written. And also the aforesaid Founder willeth and ordaineth that a copy of this Ordinance, for misfortune of Fire, or other whatsoever do remain in the Common Chest of the Town aforesaid and *be** enrolled with the Mayor and Bailiffs who are and *for future time*† shall be, for the greater security of *such thing*‡ and to all and singular the [things] contained in this Ordinance, and firmly to be holden to the presents *my*§ seal is appended."

"And colation of the same hath been made by Master John Catryk and it agreeth with the original."||

"BISHOP BEAUFORT'S RATIFICATION.

To all the Sons of Holy Mother Church, to whom the present Letters shall come, Henry, by Divine permission, Bishop of Lincoln, Salvation in the Lord Everlasting. KNOW YE ALL that we have inspected, handled and seen certain Letters of Foundation or of Ordinance, of the Hospital, of Saint John the Baptist situate in the Town of Bedford, made by Robert de Parys, Founder of the same Hospital, and sealed with his seal (as it *appeareth*)¶ hanging in round form, in green wax, being not rased, not cancelled, not vitiated, nor in any part thereof suspected, but lacking all faults and suspicion; under the tenor which followeth. Be it remembered (as before). In witness of which thing, our seal is appended to these Presents. Given so far as to the sealing of the presents, in the Priory of Newnham the twenty third day of the Month of January in the year of our Lord One thousand three hundred ninety nine; and in the second year of our consecration."

"A true translation of the foregoing extended copy,

Examined by me, W. H. BLACK, F.S.A."

Of the founder of the Hospital, Robert de Parys, very little is now known; and from the above record of Bishop Beauford, of Lincoln, when he inspected the deed of gift in the Priory of Newnham, in 1399, we simply learn that the Hospital existed.

Mr. J. D. Parry, in an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1849, says "The date of St. John the Baptist's *Hospital*, which had been disputed, appears from a MS. in the British Museum, described to the

* Both copies have *is*.

† Omitted in Longland's

‡ *hereof*, Longland.

§ *our*, Longland.

|| Contained only in Beauford's Register.

¶ *Appears* in the Information, pa. 3.

writer as of the era of Elizabeth, to be 980 ; the MS. referring to a prior one. The parish church has always been connected with it.

It is worthy of note, that Henry Beauford, who became Cardinal and Bishop of Winchester, was the natural son, legitimated by parliament, of John of Gaunt, by Catherine Swineford, who afterwards became his third wife. He was therefore uncle to John Plantagenet, Duke of Bedford who became regent of France during the minority of Henry VI. Beauford, having been educated at Oxford and Aix-la-Chapelle, was advanced, at an early period of his life, to high stations both in the church and the state. In 1397, he became Bishop of Lincoln, and in 1399 the very year in which he inspected the deed of gift of Robert de Parys in Priory of Newnham near Bedford, chancellor of the University of Oxford, and dean of Wells. In 1404 he was made lord high Chancellor of England, and in the following year Bishop of Winchester. He does not seem to have possessed such political importance, as one might have expected, during the reigns of his brother, Henry IV. and of his nephew, Henry V., but he appears to have lived in great splendour, and acquired immense wealth, so that he was able to lend his nephew £20,000 to assist him in his expedition to France, and thus to divert him from his design of attacking the revenues of the church. When Henry V. died, he was appointed one of the guardians of his son Henry VI. during his minority; and in 1424 he was again chosen lord Chancellor of England. In the following year, the dissensions that subsisted between him and the protector, Humphrey duke of Gloucester, rose to such a height, that Beauford considered it necessary, to appeal to his nephew, the Duke of Bedford, then Regent of France, and to request his presence for bringing about an accommodation, when the Duke had arrived, an assembly of the nobility was convened at St. Albans; but as their interposition proved ineffectual, the decision of the contest was referred to the parliament held at Leicester in 1426. Here the Duke of Gloucester produced six articles of accusation against Bishop Beauford, of which he was acquitted: the disputants being enjoined to cultivate mutual friendship, departed with outward appearances of perfect amity. The Duke of Bedford, however, in order to gratify his brother the protector, took away the great seal from Bishop Beauford. In 1428, the Duke of Bedford returned to France, and was accompanied by Beauford, to Calais, where he was invested with the dignity of Cardinal, with the title of St. Eusebius, conferred upon him by Pope Martin V. The same Pope also honored him with the character of Legate; but on his return to England, he was forbidden to exercise of it by Royal proclamation. Having been appointed the Pope's Legate in Germany, and General of the crusade against the Hussites, or heretics of Bohemia, he obtained from parliament the grant of a sum of money, and a body of forces, for the more successful execution of his office; having embarked with his troops for France, he was obliged, for some time, with reluctance on his own part, to employ them under the Duke of Bedford; and he then proceeded with them to Bohemia, where he remained for some months, till he was recalled by the Pope. In 1430 he accompanied king Henry into France, under the title of the King's "principal councillor," and performed the ceremony of crowning the young monarch in the church of Notre Dame at Paris. The honours, however, which he received during his absence, were, in his estimation, an inadequate compensation for the mortification resulting from the Duke of Gloucester's successful attempts for humbling his pride, and restraining his power. He not only procured an order of council, prohibiting any of the King's subjects from accompanying the cardinal, if he should leave the King without his permission; but he attempted to deprive him of his bishopric, as inconsistent with the dignity of Cardinal. On his return, and for his more effectual security against these hostile attempts, he obtained, by the intercession of the House of Commons, letters of pardon for all offences committed by him contrary to the statute of "provisors," and other acts of "præmunire." This pardon was renewed five years after, viz. in 1437, for all crimes whatsoever. Notwithstanding these precautions, the Duke of Gloucester, in 1442, drew up fourteen articles of impeachment against him, and presented them with his own hands to the King, who referred the matter to his council. The examination of these

articles was attended with such delay, that the protector dropped the prosecution, and the Cardinal escaped. The cause of the protector's inveterate enmity against the Cardinal is said to have been the part which he had taken in instigating certain persons to accuse and persecute his Duchess for treason, witchcraft, and other notorious crimes. Cardinal Beauford, died in 1447, about a month after the Duke of Gloucester, in whose murder, it is supposed, he was concerned. The remorse and horror occasioned by the reflection on this event, in the near approaches of his own death were "more," says Hume, "than could naturally be expected from a man hardened, during the course of a long life, in falsehood and politics;" and they are exhibited in very impressive characters in the representation of his last scene by Shakespeare, in the last scene of the third act of the "Second Part of King Henry VI."

"If thou be'st death, I'll give thee England's treasure,
Enough to purchase such another island,
So thou wilt let me live, and feel no pain."

Again

"Bring me unto my trial when you will.
Dy'd he not in his bed? where should he die?
Can I make men live, whether they will or no?
Oh! torture me no more: I will confess—
Alive again? Then, shew me where he is;
I'll give a thousand pounds to look upon him—
He hath no eyes, the dust hath blinded them;
Comb down his hair; look! look! it stands upright,
Like lime-twigs set to catch my winged soul.
Give me some drink, and bid th' apothecary
Bring the strong poison that I bought of him."

The Cardinal was buried at Winchester. He died rich, and left large sums for pious and charitable purposes, in various parts of the kingdom; and he ordered 10,000 masses to be said for his soul. Haughty and turbulent, and fond of pomp and power, he is allowed to have been a faithful and able servant of the crown. Mr. Hume describes him as a prelate of great capacity and experience, but of an intriguing and dangerous character. Hume's Hist. Vol. III. p. 135, 173. Biog. Brit. Rees' Cyclop.

On Tuesday, November 21st, 1865, Mr. Clabon, from the offices of Messrs. Fearon, Clabon, and Fearon, attended at the Shire Hall on behalf of Mr. J. P. Fearon, solicitor to the Attorney General, to receive suggestions of inhabitants of the town "as to the scheme to be proposed by the Attorney General to the court in the suit of 'Attorney General v. the Hospital of St. John's, Bedford,' for the future regulation of the said hospital, and of the present and future income thereof, and for the appointment of Trustees." Mr. Clabon sat in the Crown Court, at one o'clock, and a large number of persons were present. The Corporation was represented by the Mayor (W. J. Nash, Esq.), Aldermen Trapp, Jones, and Miller; Councillors Kilpin, J. T. Wing, Masters, Cutcliffe, Fry, and the Town Clerk. There were also present—W. Williams, Esq., G. Hurst, Esq., the Rev. R. W. Fitzpatrick, Mr. W. White (formerly of Bedford), Col. Stuart, M. P., and others.

Mr. Clabon said he was there by the directions of her Majesty's Attorney General, and in pursuance of a notice which no doubt all had seen and which he would read. The position of the affair lay in a very small compass. In the proceedings that had been taken in the Court of Chancery, the first matter of inquiry was the original foundation by Robert de Parys. That was not in existence, but the translation of it was recognised by the Court as a guide and principle of the whole.

The information of the Attorney General stated that the Rev. Phillip Hunt, D.D., having resigned, he was succeeded by the Rev. Henry Pearse, the 6th of February, 1835, to the rectory of the parish of St. John, with the hospital. The sum of 9d. per week was thereafter usually paid monthly to ten poor men, 1s. each on St. John's and St. Thomas's days in lieu of dinners formerly supplied by Mr. Hinde formerly rector, but no other advantage was derived by them from the hospital, except that on fixing the hospital seal to any lease, two of them were present, who received 2s. 6d. each from the master and lessees. The building known as the hospital had been long used and was then still so used, as the rectory house, and since 1828 it had been very much altered; and there was an ancient hall within the building open to the roof, which since that period had been divided, and then formed part of two houses, in one of which the rector resided, and the other was let by him, and the church of St. John is close adjoining, being separated only by a small yard or garden. The property of the hospital consists of the master's house with the appurtenances, and certain farms, fields and messuages, principally in and about the town of Bedford, the value whereof in fee simple in possession, is about £56,284, but nearly the whole whereof has been let on lease for lives at fines, which have been received by the master, paying a sum of £19 10s. per annum to and among the beadsmen. The answer of Mr. Pearse was that he believed it to be true that the true value of the property was very considerable, perhaps £56,000; but his income as rector, on the average of the time since he had been rector, did not exceed £375. Mr. Pearse also stated that it had been the custom to let the property for lives and for 40 years. The Corporation applied to Parliament, for an Act of Parliament, on which they made certain proposals. One of which was that the property should be allowed to accumulate until sufficient to pay the rector £650 per annum besides the rectory house and glebe, before providing for beadsmen. The matter then came before the Court of Chancery, a decree was made by the Master of the Rolls, but the Court of Appeal varied that decree. The decree included the mastership as being subject to the charitable trust, but the judgement excluded the mastership or rectory from such trust, which was declared to be vested in the Mayor and Corporation. So that they (the meeting) had nothing to do with the mastership or rectory. There were three points on which he would make suggestions to the meeting. The letting of the property on leases and fines had been stopped by the Court, and the result of that would be that until some of the leases fell in, the income of the present master would be affected. Instead of rents and fines he had hitherto received he would now only receive rents. He thought he might express an opinion, knowing what the Court had done in other instances, that very probably the Court would see that the present master does not suffer in point of income; in other words, the rights of the present master would probably be very much as they would have been without this interference. That would be a matter of adjudication by the Court on the very earliest consideration. The Attorney General to further the scheme he would propose, desired to have the aid of the trustees to be appointed. In the decree, provision had been made for a scheme, and the usual practice of the Attorney General, before settling an important scheme of this kind, was to appoint trustees so as to have the benefit of their opinion with regard to the proposed scheme. Whether the Attorney General would pursue that course on the present occasion, was a matter for his consideration, but a course of that kind might be pursued, therefore, trustees ought to be appointed. Thirdly, there was the scheme for disposing of the surplus after paying the master. It was manifest that until some of the leases fell in there would be no surplus to dispose of; but at the same time, the Attorney General wished to take the views of gentlemen of the place, regarding such scheme. They would probably determine to appoint trustees at once. They would consider his attendance that day as quite a preliminary matter. Any suggestions made by gentlemen as to the appointment of trustees he would receive and report to the Attorney General. The Court would in no way interfere with existing leases. The Messrs. Pearse, in writing to the office, had suggested that there were various small properties belonging to the hospital in the town, which might be dealt with advantageously to the hospital by arrangement, either by sale or exchange or something of that kind. Questions such as these the Court would be disposed to deal with at once; therefore, if any lessee had any

suggestion to make as to his lease he had better send in his suggestions in order that they might be at once considered. Having made these preliminary observations, he was prepared to receive suggestions, and he should report what he heard to the Attorney General.

The Town Clerk said the Corporation was not prepared to make any suggestions with respect to the appointment of trustees to-day.

A lengthy discussion followed, in which many gentlemen connected with the town took part, and made suggestions respecting the future management of the Charity and the election of Trustees; in the course of which Mr. Clabon said that it would not be for him to determine what scheme as to trustees would be adopted. The Attorney General first made a proposition to the Court, and the Court determined after hearing all parties. On the principal of election it was quite open to the Corporation of Bedford, and other parties, inhabitants of the town, to give evidence, and the Court would then ultimately determine what principal should be adopted. He would however state that the practice of the Court was against elective trustees, and the Court kept up an independent body. In the greater part of the Charities dealt with by the Court, either the Court appointed, or under the powers of the new Act, the Charity Commissioners appointed. If it were contended that the elective principle worked well here, the Court might be guided by that, but the practice was otherwise. As he had stated, parties would be fully heard on that point. Any one had a right to memorialise the Attorney-General, and of being heard upon his memorial, so that the whole question would be fully considered before determined upon. The very fullest information would be given to every person, no appointment was made in a corner, and the names proposed, every one of them, would be mentioned, so that anyone else might be proposed or any objections might be made. The principal of the office was to give the fullest publicity on every point.

The *Bedfordshire Mercury* of Saturday, November 25th, to which we are indebted for the above extracts from its report, contained the following Leader respecting the meeting, which no doubt will interest most, if not all, of our readers :—

“The visit of the representative of the Attorney-General to the Town of Bedford in reference to the much-neglected and much-abused Charity known as St. John's Hospital, has shed much light upon the subject; and the report of the proceedings in our present issue will have more than a passing interest. The principle upon which this property has been dealt with has been that of ‘small rents and large fines on the renewal of the leases,’—but it is satisfactory to know that this pernicious system has been already stopped by the Court of Chancery. Of the founder of the Hospital, Robert de Parys, very little is known; and from the record of Bishop Beauford, of Lincoln, when he inspected the deed of gift in the Priory of Newnham, in 1399, we only learn that the Hospital existed. Coming to our own times, however, the matter is intelligible enough,—and the facts may be briefly stated. On the resignation of the rectory by the Rev. Phillip Hunt, in 1835, the Corporation of Bedford presented the living to the Rev. Henry Pearse, the son of their Town Clerk, and he has enjoyed its emoluments to the present time. From him we learn that the Hospital has been converted into a rectory house and another residence; and although the fee simple of the estate is more than £56,000, Mr. Pearse's income, for the last thirty years, has averaged but £375 per annum,—whilst to the bretheren has been paid less than £20 per annum! Giving Mr. Pearse credit for having only ‘simply done what had been done before,’—everyone will admit that it was full time that a reform was brought about in a management of a Charity of the value of £56,000,—and which has not conferred a single educational or eleemosynary benefit on the town at large.

“When the Town Council, a few years since, applied for an Act of Parliament,—to their shame be it recorded,—the great blot in their Bill was the monstrous proposal to

make the rector's income £650 per annum, besides the rectory-house and glebe, before any other liability should be incurred. Such a proposal could not fail to provoke Her Majesty's Attorney-General to take action in the matter; and well is it for the Town and the Charity that he has the conduct of the case,—for certainly the Corporation have manifested surprising blindness throughout.

"As matters now stand, the great question to be decided is the appointment of Trustees: and surely, looking at the two chief Charities of the town, there can be no question as to which principal—'fixed' or 'elective'—has proved most beneficial in its operation. On the one hand we have the great Harpur Charity, administered by persons chosen on the elective principal from time immemorial,—and we see that from the estates of this Charity, which has been in existence 300 years, not a single rood of ground has been lost, and it boasts of a rent-roll of about £13,000 per annum! On the other hand, here is the Charity of St. John's Hospital, with an estate the fee simple of which is above £56,000, and yet only produces £376 per annum,—about one-ninth of its fair value,—and all of which, within £20, goes into the pocket of one man! And now, what do we see, in reference to this ill-managed Charity? In the year 1865 expensive proceedings have to be taken by the Attorney-General to bring back the distribution of the Charity to the original intention of the donor! Looking on this picture, and on that,—all must agree with the opinion expressed by our late townsman, Mr. White, 'that the people of Bedford, at all events, ought to be the last people in the country to object to the elective principal.'"

At a special meeting of the Town Council of Bedford, held at the Council Chamber on Wednesday November 29, 1865, "to determine whom the Council should propose for appointment as Trustees for the purpose of carrying into execution the scheme to be adopted for the future regulation of the Hospital of St. John," the following resolution was unanimously passed:—"Resolved that the Council recommend that the whole of the members of the Council for the time being, all persons who have served the office of Mayor of the borough, and the rector of the parish of St. John for the time being, be appointed Trustees for carrying into execution the scheme for the regulation of the Hospital of St. John."

The following letter appeared in the *Standard* of Friday, December 8th, 1865.

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN.

"SIR,—This much-abused charity was left by one Robert de Parys in the year 980. He willed and ordained that there were to be two or three brethren, according to the faculty of the said hospital, of whom the more advanced was to hold the place of master. They were to eat in the hall and lie in dormitories, and to be decently clothed. Also, it appears that John and Henry St. John and John Le Neve gave rents or possessions to the said hospital. The aforesaid founder willed and ordained that all poor men who are of free birth of the town of Bedford, if they shall come to poverty by misfortune and ask for sustenance, are to be charitably received in the house by the master and co-brethren. Poor men not born in the town were not to be relieved. Also it states it shall not be lawful for the mayor, nor for the bailiffs of Bedford, nor for the burgesses, to present any poor man to the said hospital without the sanction of the master. It appears that for years there was no control over the masters; for if a duke or an earl, or an M.P. wished to buy or lease any of the lands, the master could comply, and nobody call him to account.

On a master resigning, the corporation in 1835 appointed the son of their clerk to be master. It would be thought it would be then better for the poor; but not so, for the ten beadsmen only get £19 10s. per annum among them, and the master pockets the rest. He finds neither food nor clothing for those men. Mr. Editor, John Bright states the Tories are the supporters of every abuse. Great credit is given this Liberal corporation for rescuing this charity from oblivion, and devising a plan for benefiting the poor of Bedford. In 1860 the clerk had to prepare a bill for parliament to make the crooked path straight. The master on August 23 let a messuage and garden 39½ acres, on a lease of 40 years for £1 per year. On May 10, 1860, he let arable land at Blunham, 17 acres, 2 roods, 27 perches on a lease for three lives to the Earl of Clanwilliam and James Henry Cole, but those gentlemen were not required to pay any rent. The youngest life was Earl Cowper's then 26 years of age. In 1861 the pet bill of the Corporation was presented to Parliament. Mr. Whitbread presented a scheme for the Corporation to be empowered to sell the next presentation, calculating they should make £2,000 of it. Also, it is said, they wanted power to sell some of the property of this charity or the confirming of the present leases; and to induce the master to consent, as the property was not likely to make more than £200 a year for ten years to come, they in the bill proposed to pay the master £650 per annum, besides the house and land he occupied, before providing for beadsmen—not even a bob to the poor of Bedford. The Attorney General commenced proceedings against this charity; the Corporation defended the suit, and lost it. They then formed the scheme of insuring the life of the master for £3,000. They appealed, and lost again. Finding the Attorney General too strong, they are now trying to put some dust in his eyes, at the same time paying the expenses of the insurance out of the rates. The schedule of the leasehold consists of 45 messuages and over 390 acres of land (estimated value above £55,000) which lets for £300 per year. You will, sir, ask how are the poor benefited? I will tell you. A messuage, St. Paul's, let to John Duke of Bedford, December 22, 1834, on a lease for 40 years, rent 10s.. Land, arable, Blunham, 43a. 1r. 6p., leased to Earl de Grey, January 29, 1858, for the lives of Countess Cowper aged 54, and Earl Cowper aged 26, rent £10 13s. 4d. Arable, Kempston, 3a. 3r. 33p.; and St. Mary's, Bedford, 5a. 3r. 19p., March 16, 1858, leased to Robert Raikes, for the lives of Princess Louisa aged 12, Prince Arthur aged 10, and Prince Leopold aged 7, rent £2 2s. Messuage and land, Lavendore, Bucks., 74a. 1r. 28s., September 28, 1838, rent £10, leased on the lives of Clara Wigan aged 35, E. Luis Wigan aged 40, and H. Wigan aged 26. Arable land, Goldington, 11a. 1r. 26p., leased August 18, 1824, to Peter Addington for three lives, rent £1 7s. 10d. I will now come to the head pauper arable and pasture land, consisting of 139a. 2r. 36p., rent £8 6s. 8d. on lives of Whitbreads; also 61a. 3r. 23p., leased to the said Samuel Whitbread, on the lives of William Henry Whitbread aged 66, and S. C. Whitbread aged 65, rent £21 7s. 8d. Starting from 1830, the profits arising from these two leases, have paid all the expenses for contesting the Borough of Bedford ever since, and it is stated they are letting the said lands at a clear profit of £700 a year.—Yours, &c.,

December 5th.

A RATEPAYER.

The following Schedule was issued to the public in December, 1865:—

The Hospital of St. John. Schedule of Property.

LAND ON LEASE.

Wilden, 2a. 1r. 9p. of arable land, leased August 27, 1808, for the life of Emma Pellew Bentham, aged 66, rent reserved 2s. 6d.

St. Mary's, Bedford, 17a. 3r. 22p. of arable and pasture land, for the life of William Henry Whitbread, aged 70; Cardington, 41a. 1r. 15p.; Elstow, 3r. 33p.; and Wootton, 2r. 33p. of arable and pasture land, leased May 27, 1809, for the life of Samuel Charles Whitbread, aged 59, rent reserved £21 7s. 8d.

St. Paul, Bedford, 17a. 3r. 34p. of arable and pasture land, leased June 2, 1812, for

the life of William Henry Whitbread, aged 70; St. Peter, Bedford, 121a. 3r. 2p.; and Goldington, 1a. 2r. of arable and pasture land, leased June 2, 1812, for the life of Samuel Charles Whitbread, aged 69, rent reserved £8 6s. 8d.

St. Mary, Bedford, messuage, 10p., leased June 30, 1817, for the lives of James R. Storrs, aged 68 if living, and Scrace Saxby, aged 67, rent reserved 12s.

Clapham, 7a. of pasture land, leased July 13, 1818, for the life of William Alfred Dawson, aged 66, rent reserved £3.

St. Mary, Bedford, 27p. of garden ground, leased August 23, 1820, for the lives of John Brereton aged 53, and Henry Pearse, aged 59, rent reserved 10s.

St. Mary, Bedford, 27p. of garden ground, leased August 23, 1820, for the lives of John Brereton, aged 53, Henry Pearse, aged 59, and Vincent Wing, aged 58 if living, rent reserved £1.

St. John, Bedford, 2r. 23p. of garden ground, leased July 10, 1822, for the life of Jacob Anthony, rent reserved 10s.

St. John Bedford, 12p. of garden ground, leased July 10, 1822, for the lives of Charles Wagstaff and Sarah Kemp, rent reserved 5s.

Goldington, 11a. 1r. 26p. of arable land, leased August 18, 1824, for the lives of Thomas Silvester Addington, aged 57, and Joseph Addington, aged 51, rent reserved £1 7s. 10d.

St. John, Bedford, messuage 12p., leased August 21, 1824, for the lives of Garrett, — Garrett, aged 57, John Garrett Gibbs, aged 53, and Samuel Gibbs, aged 47, rent reserved 10s.

Cardington, 3a. 36p. of pasture land, leased August 23, 1824, for the lives of John Pearse, aged 57, J. Brereton, aged 58, and C. Brereton, aged 51, rent reserved £2 5s.

St. John, Bedford, two messuages 2p., leased July 31, 1830, for 40 years, rent reserved 8s.

St. Paul, Bedford, messuage 7½p., leased December 22, 1834, for 40 years, rent reserved 10s.

St. Mary, Bedford, messuage 3½p., leased December 22, 1834, for 40 years, rent reserved 8s.

St. Paul, Bedford, three messuages 16½p., leased October 7, 1835, for 40 years, rent reserved 13s. 4d.

St. John, Bedford, two messuages 9p., leased October 26, 1835, for 40 years, rent reserved 10s.

St. John, Bedford, messuage and part of another messuage 1r. 0½p., leased Dec. 5, 1837, for 40 years, rent reserved £2 10s.

St. Mary, Bedford, 8a. 3r. 10p. of pasture land, leased December 11, 1837, for the lives of Elizabeth Pearse, aged 42, Susan Pearse, aged 42, and James Pearse, aged 39, rent reserved £12 8s.

Lavendon, Bucks., messuage and land, 74a. 1r. 28p., leased September 28, 1838, for the lives of Clara Wigan, aged 39, Edward Lewis Wigan, aged 44, and Henry Wigan, aged 30, rent reserved £10.

St. Mary, Bedford, messuage and garden 3r. 30p., leased August 1, 1839, for the lives of Ebenezer Mayle, aged 82, and Henry Mayle, aged 58, rent reserved £2.

St. Mary, Bedford, messuage 1a. 2r. 3p., leased August 1, 1839, for the lives of Ebenezer Mayle, aged 82, and Henry Mayle, aged 58, rent reserved 6s. 3d.

St. Peter, Bedford, buildings and yard 16p., leased April 16, 1840, for 40 years, rent reserved £1 6s. 8d.

St. Cuthbert, Bedford, 2r. 1p. of garden ground, leased January 27, 1841, for the lives of James Pearse, aged 39, James Stock, aged 40, and Charles Purser, aged 35, rent reserved 14s.

St. Mary, Bedford, messuage 2½p., leased May 26, 1842, for the lives of Mary Adams, and Robert William Skevington, aged 36, rent reserved 6s. 8d.

St. Mary, Bedford, 3r. 31p. of pasture land, leased December 11, 1843, for the life of Benjamin Harrison, aged 34, rent reserved 6s. 8d.

St. Mary, Bedford, 9p. of pasture land, leased February 22, 1844, for the lives of George Frederick Maclear, aged 32, and William Pritzer Newland, aged 31, rent reserved 5s.

St. Mary, Bedford, messuage and strip of ground 3p., leased October 6, 1846, for 40 years, rent reserved £1 6s. 8d.

St. Cuthbert, Bedford, two messuages 12p., leased March 1, 1848, for 40 years, rent reserved 12s.

St. John, Bedford, fourteen messuages 1r. 2p., leased February 19, 1849, for the lives of Henry Pearse, aged 59, Vincent Wing, aged 58, and Thomas Gwyn Empey Elger, aged 28, rent reserved £2 5s. 4d.

St. Mary, Bedford, yard 3½p., leased December 30, 1850, for the lives of Ann Elizabeth Skevington, aged 18, and Frederick Pearse, aged 24, rent reserved 4s.

St. Mary and St. John, Bedford, messuage and ground 21p., September 16, 1851, for 40 years, rent reserved £1.

St. Mary, Bedford, messuage 15p., leased July 18, 1853, for the lives of Frederick George Maclear, aged 32, H.R.H. Prince of Wales, aged 24, rent reserved £1 13s. 4d.

St. John, Bedford, messuage 17½p., leased September 3, 1853, for the lives of James Barnes, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, aged 24, and H.R.H. Prince Alfred, aged 21, rent reserved 10s.

St. John, Bedford, messuage 1r. 37p., leased November 26, 1853, for 40 years, rent reserved 18s.

St. John, Bedford, messuages 26p., leased February 2nd, 1854, for 40 years, rent reserved 18s. 8d.

Blunham, 43a. 1r. 6p. of arable land, leased January 29, 1858, for the lives of the Dowager Countess Cowper, and Earl Cowper, aged 31, rent reserved £10 13s. 4d.

Kempston, 3a. 3r. 33p., and St. Mary, Bedford, 5a. 3r. 19p. of arable land, leased March 16, 1858, for the lives of H.R.H. Princess Louisa, aged 17, H.R.H. Prince Arthur, aged 15, and H.R.H. Prince Leopold, aged 12, rent reserved £2 2s.

St. John, Bedford, 30p. of garden ground, leased May 7, 1859, for the lives of Thomas Simmons Trapp, Percival William Bunting, aged 30, and Samuel Dalzell, aged 27 years, rent reserved £1 5s.

St. Mary, Bedford, two messuages 14½p., leased October 20, 1859, for 40 years, rent reserved £1 13s. 4d.

St. John, Bedford, two messuages 5p., leased November 17, 1859, for 40 years, rent reserved 10s.

Ravensden, Messuage and arable land 5s. 1r. 19p., leased December 1, 1859, for the lives of Edward Peacock, aged 40, Harry Peacock, aged 15, and Edward Gascoyne, aged 15, rent reserved, £1 10s.

St. John, Bedford, messuage and garden, 39½p., leased August 23, 1860, for 40 years, rent reserved £1.

Blunham, 17a. 2r. 27p. of arable land, leased May 10, 1860, for the lives of William Henry Whitbread, aged 70, Samuel Charles Whitbread, aged 69, and Earl Cowper, aged 31.

LANDS NOT ON LEASE.

St. John, Bedford, rectory house and grounds, 1a. 20p.

St. John Bedford, glebe and moat, 4a. 1r. 10p.

St. John, Bedford, pasture land, 5a. 1r. 11p.

St. Mary, Bedford, pasture land, 1a. 2r. 7p.

St. Mary, Bedford, messuage, 1a. 2r.

St. John, Bedford, messuage, 11½p.

St. Mary, Bedford, two messuages, 7½p.

St. John, Bedford, garden, 28p.

St. Mary, Bedford, two messuages, 3½p.

St. Cuthbert, Bedford, two messuages, 8½p.

St. Cuthbert, Bedford, two messuages and garden, 32p.

St. Cuthbert, Bedford, garden ground, 1r. 26p.

Goldington, ancient quit rent 10s. per annum, arising from land.

Biddenham, ancient quit rent 7s. per annum, arising from land.

MONEY AND SECURITIES.

A sum of £286 due from the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Bedford,

Three per cent. Consols standing in the name of the Accountant General, £307 4s. 11d.

Three per cent reduced, £1223 9s.

Cash in the Bank of England, £150.

We also pass on our right, a few yards further, the church of *St. Mary* (which we have already noticed and described), and continue our course over the Bridge, to about the centre of High street, where on the left is an open gateway leading to the Old George Inn. Down this yard may be seen the remains of a Gothic building, which, though some imagine it to have been a place of considerable importance in by-gone days, is nothing more than part of the original structure of that ancient inn, which is spoken of by the same name in the Rolls of Parliament (1481) II., p. 100. We now pass on to where the High street is intersected right and left by Mill street (or, as it was formerly called, Mill lane) and Silver street. On the open space, at the top of the latter street, known as the Old Market Hill, formerly stood

The Town Cage,

A remarkably prison-looking, strong-built place, "for the reception" (if we may use the words of Matthiason) "of those unhappy speculators on the peace or property of others, who being unable or unwilling to procure a better lodging, are here accommodated free of expense until brought to give an account of themselves before the competent authorities of the town." The Cage has since been removed to the other end of this street, at the back of the house occupied by the Chief Constable, the entrance being in that part of Harpur street, which is frequently called White Horse street.

Mill street is remarkable for having three Chapels situated in it, the first being a Baptist, the second an Independent, and the third a Mixed Communion.

The Baptist Chapel.

The former building was erected in the year 1793 by a party from Bunyan Meeting. Several ministers occupied the pulpit up to the year 1815, when the Rev. Thomas King was elected to the pastorate; he died October 13th, 1847, having held the office for the period of thirty-two years. In 1849 the Rev. Hugh Killen was chosen to the vacant pulpit, and during his ministry the chapel was twice enlarged. In course of time the pulpit again became vacant, and in the month of August, 1865, the Rev. R. Speed (of the Metropolitan Tabernacle College), was unanimously elected pastor. The entrance to the old

chapel was down a narrow passage adjoining Messrs. Page & Co.'s works; and the building was capable of seating 700 persons.

Notwithstanding the frequent alterations and enlargements that have taken place in the old building since the days of the Rev. Thomas King, the once venerable pastor of the Baptist Church in Mill-street, owing to the gradual increase in the number of the congregation it has been long felt that the scanty accommodation the old chapel afforded had become quite inadequate to the requirements of even the present generation. The necessity of enlarged space being seriously felt, a movement was some time ago set on foot to do away with the old building and substitute an entirely new structure, on a much more enlarged scale, in its place, the only difficulty in the way at first presenting itself being the want of sufficient funds for carrying out so desirable an object. By the united efforts, however, of the present minister the Rev. R. Speed, and the leading members of the church, this difficulty seems so far to have been overcome as to enable the friends to take action in the matter by proceeding to the erection of the contemplated new chapel.

On Tuesday evening, December 22, 1868, a public tea meeting took place at the Assembly-rooms, in aid of the funds for the erection of the new chapel, which was numerously attended, as many as 300 persons having sat down to tea, the trays being gratuitously provided by the ladies of the congregation. The meeting was presided over by the Rev. R. Speed, pastor of the baptist church.

After tea the company resolved themselves into a public meeting, and several interesting addresses in reference to the important subject which had been the means of calling them together, were delivered by Mr. Speed and other ministers of the town.

The chairman, in his opening remarks, said that notwithstanding the many difficulties under which they had to labour, yet the Lord had greatly blessed them, so much so that they felt compelled to build a new and more commodious house for their God. The total estimated outlay for the erection of the new building was £2,600, and he felt gratified in being able to state that, through the liberality of friends, the committee saw their way clear to about £1,800 of that amount, so that there was every reason to hope the entire sum would be raised in due time. He therefore impressed upon his friends the importance of persevering and united effort in order to accomplish the good work they had so nobly commenced.

Cordial and congratulatory addresses were afterwards given by the Revs. J. Brown, B.A., B. Backhouse, W. Parker Irving, B.Sc., J. W. Thompson, M. Birks, Mr. J. Pratt, &c.

A few yards further on our right, stands, what is known as

Howard Chapel

Formerly called the New Meeting, to distinguish it from the Old Meeting. This neat strong looking brick building was erected in 1775, and enlarged in 1849. It stands back at a short distance from the street, having a small burial ground in front, with an open iron gateway, and a school-room, erected in 1862, at the back. The chapel, previous to the late alterations, was of a simple quadrangular form, having the four sides of the roof verging to a point, the apex being mounted with a ball: the interior which was remarkably neat and regular, consisted of four sections of very high pews, having a gallery to three of its sides, and the pulpit on the fourth, facing the front entrance, which opened by an inner inclosed doorway right and left.

"The chapel owes its origin" writes Matthiason "to a change of sentiment which took place in the minister of the Old Meeting at that time (the Rev. Joshua Symonds) with respect to the ceremony of baptism; he having been previously a pædo-baptist. This change produced a separation of the congregation, the disapproving part of whom immediately proceeded to erect a separate place of worship, in which they were chiefly assisted by the benevolent Mr. Howard,* who generously opened his purse to them on the occasion: and though probably his own liberal mind would have found insufficient grounds for

* The following amusing memoranda, extracted from an old country periodical, have been handed to us by C. F. B. Gillions, Esq., for insertion here, and will, no doubt, prove acceptable to all who are familiar with the biography of the great Philanthropist:—"To the Editors of the Manchester Grammar School Magazine. Gentlemen,—I have in my possession the common-place book of an old friend of mine, (now no more), the initials of whose name are J. D. K., an inhabitant of this town, and much respected by all who had the happiness of knowing him. I shall occasionally send you extracts from this, in which, I feel assured, most of your readers will be much interested. I shall make a commencement to-day, with his reminiscences of the celebrated John Howard. I am, gentlemen, your most obedient servant, and well-wisher to the success of your undertaking."—"Some recollections of the celebrated philanthropist, John Howard. In the year 1789, this justly-eminent character came to reside at Warrington, where I was brought up, and where my father was pastor of the Independent congregation. The purport of his visit to our town was, to superintend the printing of his work on "*Lazarette*," by Eyres, at that time a person eminent in his profession. Though then only eight years of age, I well recollect Mr. H.'s imposing figure and singular appearance, on a summer's evening, whilst rambling in the fields with boys of my own age. We sometimes met him moving slowly along the footpath,—his arms folded *à la mode de Bonaparte*, and his eyes steadfastly fixed on the ground, evidently absorbed in the most profound thought. In his person, he was above the middle stature, and strongly built—wore a cocked hat, and if I remember right, his blue coat was surmounted by a red collar. The portraits extant are good likenesses, for, as he used often to attend on my father's ministry, and sat near us, I had a good opportunity of becoming acquainted with his features—an opportunity not neglected—for though unable fully to appreciate his character, I was well aware, from the conversation I heard respecting him, and the profound respect with which he was treated, that he was a great and excellent man,

a separation himself, yet perceiving an offence existed which was likely to scatter them from the connection, became at once the patron and leader of the new establishment, which appears still to bear a very friendly relation towards the mother congregation.

The special interest attaching to Howard Chapel consists in the fact of its being the standing memorial of the faith and piety of the great Philanthropist. It was erected mainly by his contributions, and within its walls he was accustomed to worship. Whilst his monument in St. Paul's Cathedral testifies to his universal benevolence, this sacred edifice points to the Divine source from which he derived the inspiration of his life. It is also the only memorial of him in the town on which his name has shed lustre, and the only one of the kind in the country of which he was one of the brightest ornaments.

In 1863, an opinion having been long entertained that the internal arrangements of this chapel were old fashioned and inconvenient, and the general aspect of the place,—compared with other places of worship,—exceeding dull and gloomy, suggestions were thrown out as to the propriety of having the chapel re-pewed and otherwise modernized; but no action was taken in the matter in consequence of doubts being expressed as to the possibility of sufficient funds being raised to cover the expenditure, the estimated cost,—according to plans prepared by

and fully entitled to all the attention he universally received. My parents being on friendly terms with Mr. Eyres, we were invited to call at the office, for the purpose of seeing the presses at work, and being introduced to Mr. H. who paid no visits, and was not, at any time, very accessible. We accordingly went. I forget much that was said and much that was done, but this I do remember, that Mr. H. condescended to shew me much marked attention, and asked me many questions respecting what I was learning,—expressed himself pleased with my answers; and, on taking leave of our party, gave me a shilling, which he said I must spend for his sake. I greatly regret that the shilling (the shillings of that day being little more than plain pieces of silver) was not honoured with an engraved inscription commemorative of a fact so grateful to my recollection. The shilling was hoarded for a while, and then spent. During a short residence at——I frequently heard Mr. H. spoken of: his personal appearance—his pursuits, and above all, his singular habits, were, to that pleasure-loving people, objects of wonder and inextricable speculation, during his stay in their city. The winter was very severe; yet he perambulated their streets and squares without coat or cloak, his neck bare, and frequently with his stockings fallen down upon his ancles. When the Italians of that day saw or heard of an Englishman whose pursuits involved much self-denial or great personal risk, their only way of accounting for such conduct, was, by attributing to the nation generally a belief in the Metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls; and on this subject they teased Mr. H. as often as opportunity was afforded; but, as may well be supposed from a man of his habits, they got little in the way of answer or explanation. This great man died at Churzon, in 1790, of a malignant fever, caught by visiting a lady who was ill of the complaint, and whose sufferings he wished to alleviate. Though a dissenter from the Church of England, unconnected with the government, his death was announced in the *Gazette*, and a monument, with a suitable inscription, has since been erected to his memory in St. Paul's.

Mr. Usher,—being about £450. The subject, however was revived in 1865, and a committee appointed for the purpose of carrying out, if possible, the plans in all their details. The committee, with an energy worthy of the occasion, at once set to work, and so well did succeed, that at a tea meeting, held in the new school-room on Wednesday evening, October 25th, 1865, for the purpose of discussing the subject, it was announced that the subscriptions, including gifts by private friends, amounted to £173. At this meeting a project was also started whereby another £100 might be realized by ten members of the committee, who had themselves already subscribed most liberally.

A large Christmas Tree, and several stalls with smaller trees, loaded with fancy and useful articles, were exposed for sale, at the Working Men's Institute, Harpur street, on Thursday and Friday, December 28th and 29th, 1865, the proceeds of which were devoted to the fund for the restoration of the interior of Howard Chapel. The interior of the Institute had all the appearance of a fancy fair, being remarkably pretty. It was exceedingly well attended, and the result of the sale was most satisfactory.

The following letter was also addressed by the late Rev. W. Alliott, to the Editor of the *Bedfordshire Mercury*.

JOHN HOWARD THE PHILANTHROPIST.

SIR,—Will you kindly allow me to make known a fact in which I think the public will feel much interested? About 90 years ago the great philanthropist caused a free church to be erected in the town of Bedford, in which he was accustomed to worship. His monument in St. Paul's Cathedral and this building are the only public memorials of a man whom the nation delighted to honour. The one speaks of his sublime benevolence, the other of the divine source from which it was derived. The memorial at Bedford is in a dilapidated condition, and requires immediate restoration at a cost of about £1,000. I feel sure it will only be necessary to make this known to the nation to elicit some tangible proof of its appreciation of self-denial so rare and benevolence so pure.

Contributions will be thankfully received through Messrs. Barnard, Barnard, and Wing, bankers, Bedford; or by, yours very respectfully,

Bedford, Nov. 22.

WM. ALLIOTT.

The object of the proposed restoration, was to make the chapel as suited in all respects to the requirements of the present times, as it was to the existent state of things at its erection, ninety years ago. A strenuous effort was therefore made to raise the requisite funds. The congregation contributed to the utmost of their means, but having just before expended a considerable sum in the erection of School-rooms they needed some assistance; several friends therefore, sympathizing with their object, lent a helping hand towards its accomplishment.

This place of worship having undergone such an entire restoration, as utterly to do away with its former identity, the ceremony of re-opening took place on the morning of Tuesday, April 24th, 1866, under the most auspicious circumstances, the Rev. T. Binney, of London, (who had in his earlier days been for a limited period minister of the place) having engaged to preach the opening sermon.

Of the restoration of the chapel itself, it is only necessary to add, that the opinions expressed on all sides are those of general admiration of the neat and comfortable appearance of the place, and of commendation of the architect and contractors, for the business-like manner in which the works have been carried out. Great difficulties generally present themselves in the attempt to restore an edifice tastefully and harmoniously, when no marked style or prominent features present themselves, to give as it were a key note upon which to base artistic and architectural operations: when this is the case the best course to adopt is to acquire a knowledge of the characteristics of style prevalent at the period of its erection, and as faithfully as possible, with due regard to modern requirements, pursue the work accordingly. This has been the object of the architect in the restoration of the interior of Howard Chapel; the high and narrow pews have been replaced by open benches, with ends beautifully wrought and moulded, and with backs and seats inclining, each seat having a book-board and hat-rail, and space sufficient to kneel. The old pulpit, which was small, hexagonal, and deep, fixed on a single column, has been replaced by a larger and more appropriate one of oak, erected on a platform, and approached by two flights of steps, with balusters, rails, and newels. The old gallery fronts, which were very deep, and of old oak, have been reduced in height and the panels fitted with open iron-work, of a design corresponding with other features in the building. The flat portion of the ceiling (which is deeply coved from the side walls) is divided into panels of octagons and squares by moulded timber, and the intersection of the cove with the side walls is decorated with a colored ribbon running round the building. The organ, which formerly occupied a position in the front gallery, has been removed to a gallery prepared for it and the choir at the back of the pulpit. The old lead lights have been supplanted by windows composed of moulded zinc and rich tinted sienna cathedral glass, very elegant in design; each window has a patent louvre ventilator. The aisles and entrance lobby are laid with Peake's best tiles in octagons and squares. The chapel is heated with Perkins' patent high pressure hot water apparatus, and lighted with six star pendants from the ceiling, and brackets beneath the galleries. The above alterations were carried out by Messrs. Winn and Foster, builders, from designs and under the superintendence of Mr. Usher, architect.

The Rev. W. P. Irving, B.Sc., is the present minister, and the services commence on Sundays at 10.30 a.m., and at 2.30 and 6 p.m.; and on Mondays and Wednesdays at 7 p.m.

Conspicuously placed against the south wall of the chapel, within the building, is a handsome memorial tablet designed to perpetuate the memory of a late highly esteemed pastor of the church and congregation worshipping here, the Rev. William Alliot. The tablet which was executed by Messrs. G. H. Miller & Son, of this town, is fixed on a black marble ground 4 feet 6 inches long by 3 feet 4 inches high ; the tablet itself is composed of statuary white marble, 3 feet 8 inches long by 2 feet high, with moulded cornice, base, &c., the panel being formed by sunk moulding, and the whole highly polished. In the centre of the panel is the following inscription :—"In affectionate remembrance of the Rev. William Alliot, who was pastor of this church for thirty-five years, during twenty of which he was engaged in preparing young men for ministerial and missionary work. This tablet is erected by his church and congregation, sorrowing for their loss, but rejoicing in his great gain. Nat. July 22, 1867. Ob. Aug. 12, 1867. 'He being dead, yet speaketh.'"

Passing on a few yards further, we come to that celebrated building known as

Bunyan Meeting,

upon which, owing to its historical interest,—first, as being, in all probability, the oldest Congregational Church in the world, and the first of the kind ever formed ; secondly, as being the oldest of the dissenting churches in this town, and the mother of all the rest ; and thirdly, as being so much associated with the name and life of Bunyan, —we shall have to dwell at considerable length.

From what we now can ascertain, it seems that Major John Gifford, generally known as "holy Mr. Gifford," the evangelist of "Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress," and the founder of the church assembling in Bunyan Meeting, Bedford, was during the early period of his life a most depraved and irreligious youth. He was a warm royalist, and having entered the army whilst quite a young man, was promoted in course of time to the rank of Major in the royal forces. In the month of April, 1645, he endeavoured to raise a rebellion in Kent, his native county, but in this he was unsuccessful. It appears that about 300 persons, amongst whom was Major Gifford, being very discontented and rebellious assembled together and took possession of Sir Percival Hart's house. Col. Blunt, however, hearing of what had happened, hastened to the spot, and after having attacked and dispersed them, regained the house and took Gifford and eleven others prisoners. After that twelve had been tried by martial law, they were condemned to the gallows, but on the night before the day appointed for their execution, Gifford's sister, in some miraculous manner, contrived to get access to the prison. Finding, on her approach to the prison, that the guard without was

asleep, and that her brother's companions within were drowned with intoxication, she seized the opportunity, and liberated Gifford, who, for fear of being arrested, went and concealed himself in a ditch for three days, until he believed that they were tired of searching for him. He then succeeded in escaping in disguise, by the help of his friends, to London, and from London he came to Bedford. Here, assisted by several influential persons who favoured the royal cause, he remained hid for a season in their houses, and was soon enabled by them to commence business as a doctor; but instead of returning thanks to God for his merciful deliverance from the gallows, and for the many blessings bestowed upon him since he came to Bedford, he indulged to a much greater extent in his old sinful, degrading habits, such as drunkenness, gambling, swearing, and other kinds of immorality. At the gaming table, however, he was seldom successful, frequently the reverse; and such was his wicked conduct, that he became a curse to all by whom he was surrounded, and took great delight in persecuting the Puritans. One night, driven to desperation by his misfortune at the gaming table, his repeated losses amounting to about fifteen pounds, he became quite outrageous, swore and cursed in a frightful manner, casted angry reproaches on God, and at last contemplated suicide. Before the time had arrived in which he intended to perpetrate this awful deed, his attention was arrested by some book written by the Rev. R. Bolton; he read it, thought over it, and, it may be, prayed over it, for the Holy Spirit blessed the reading of the work in such a manner that he was convinced of sin, his conscience became terror-stricken, and his thoughts diverted into a religious channel. Distress, under conviction of sin, followed him; and in this state he remained a month or more. At length the Holy Spirit so enlightened his mind into a view of the way of forgiveness, through the blood of Christ, as filled his soul with joy and peace; he went to his Bible, opened it, read and searched it, and in its bright and glorious pages found pardon and peace with God, and acceptance through the mediation of the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world. Like the apostle Paul, Gifford now sought the forgiveness and friendship of those very persons whom he had persecuted before his conversion, and he met with a similar reception, for "they were affraid of him." In the church records it is stated that "being thus called by divine grace, he sought acquaintance with the people of God. At first he found great difficulty to persuade them he was sincere. He had been exceedingly vile and notorious for his enmity to serious godliness. Scarcely could they believe him to be a disciple. But being very warm in his attachment, and naturally of a bold spirit, he would not be repulsed, but took all opportunities to thrust himself among them. After many difficulties, he prevailed with them to admit him to a share of their friendship and confidence. Soon afterwards, he began to speak the word of God, first in a private, then in a public way and manner. His ministry was attended with remarkable success. The hand of the Lord was with him, and a number believed, and turned to

the Lord. Having been for some time engaged in the work of the ministry, by degrees he began to see the propriety and importance of professing believers in Christ being united in christian fellowship. He cultivated an acquaintance with other ministers. Obtaining farther degrees of light into this matter, he began to propose it among his friends, and endeavoured to lead them into similar views. They set apart many days for solemn prayer, to seek direction from heaven. Enquiries were made into the practice of neighbouring societies, and the scriptures diligently searched. At length they came to a resolution, that a select number should form themselves into a body, and so lay the foundation of a gospel church. In the year 1650, Mr. Gifford, and eleven other grave serious christians, well known to one another, appointed a day for this solemn transaction, when they met together, and after fervent prayer, they first gave themselves up to the Lord, and then to one another, according to the will of God. This done, they with one consent made choice of John Gifford, to be their pastor or elder, to minister to them in the things of the kingdom of Christ. This he accepted, and gave himself up to the Lord, and to his people, to walk with and watch over them in the Lord." These twelve persons* amongst whom were John Grew, Anthony Harrington, and John Eston, being like Gifford, "dissatisfied with the superstitious and persecuting practices of the prelates of that day, were earnestly concerned to edify themselves and propagate the truth; gladly entertaining those zealous friends of the gospel of Christ, who were then stigmatised by many under the name of puritans;" they were unbiassed by any sectarian feeling, being guided entirely by their prayerful researches into Divine truth as revealed in the sacred Scriptures. And "the principle upon which the original members of this church entered into fellowship one with another and on which they afterwards received those who were added to them, was a *profession of faith in Christ, attended with holiness of life*." Their sole aim was to enjoy Christian communion—to extend the reign of grace—and to live to the honour of Christ. The Rev. John Gifford maintained that the only thing essential to church-fellowship was "Union with Christ; this is the foundation of all saints' communion, and not any judgment about externals." The Communion was to be open to all believers, without any restriction as to name or sect. Water-baptism was to be left to the conviction of the individual; they were to love each other equally, whether they advocated baptism in infancy or in riper years—whether they believed in either sprinkling or immersion. These, then, are the principles upon which this, the first church of the kind, was formed, and such is the condition of this Church at the present day, as well as of many other churches in all parts of the world.

Bunyan in his "Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners," para-

* There were several women among the first 12 members who thus embodied themselves.

graph 77, says, "About this time I began to break my mind to these poor people at Bedford,* and to tell them my condition, which when they had heard, they told Mr. Gifford of me, who himself also took occasion to talk with me, though I think from little grounds; but he invited me to his house, where I should hear him confer with others about the dealings of God with their souls; from all which I still received no conviction, and from that time began to see something of the vanity and inward wretchedness of my wicked heart." From the advice of this pious minister, whose early Christian experience was so very similar to his own, Bunyan seems to have obtained much relief and encouragement. In the 117th paragraph of the above-mentioned, Bunyan continues, "At this time I also sat under the ministry of holy Mr. Gifford, whose doctrine, by God's grace, was much for my stability. This man made it much his business to deliver the people of God from all those false and unsound tests, that by nature we are prone to. He would bid us take special heed that we took not up any truth upon trust; but cry mightily to God that he would convince us of the reality thereof, and set down therein by his own Spirit in the holy word; for, said he, if you do otherwise, when temptation comes, if strongly upon you, not having received them with evidence from heaven, will find you want that help and strength now to resist that once you thought you had." So much for Bunyan's opinion of Mr. Gifford, who, under the blessing of God, was instrumental in bringing about the conversion of that wicked tinker of Elstow, who afterwards became the illustrious dreamer and author of the "Pilgrim's Progress," and many other works. For at length, Bunyan determined to identify himself with the Lord's people, and after proper enquiries, he was admitted a member of the Church at Bedford, under the care of Mr. Gifford, 1653. There is no doubt that Bunyan was baptized by Gifford, but this, as well as the exact date of his baptism and election to church-fellowship, are not known, because no minutes of the proceedings of the church are extant, prior to 1656, the year in which Gifford died. Not long before Mr. Gifford's death he penned the following letter of advice to his church and people:—

"To the Church over which God made me an overseer when in this world.

"I beseech you, brethren beloved, let these words (written in my love to you and care over you, when our heavenly Father was removing me to the kingdom of his dear Son) be read in your church-gatherings together. I shall *not now*, dearly beloved, write unto you about that which is the first, and without which all other things are as nothing in the sight of God, viz: the keeping the *mystery of the faith in a pure conscience*; I shall not, I say, write of these things (though the greatest) having spent my labours among you, to root you and build you up in

* Bunyan here alludes to the good women, by whose instrumentality his conversion was brought about.

Christ through the grace you have received ; and to press you to all manner of holiness in your conversations, that you may be found of the Lord, without spot, and blameless, at His coming. But the things I shall speak to you of, are about your CHURCH AFFAIRS, which I fear have been little considered by most of you ; which things, if not minded aright, and submitted unto, according to the will of God, will by degrees bring you under divisions, distractions, and at last to confusion of that gospel order and fellowship which now through grace you enjoy. Therefore, my brethren, in the *first* place I would not have any of you ignorant of this, that every one of you are *as much now bound to walk with the church in all love ; and in the ordinances of Jesus Christ our Lord, as when I was present among you :* neither have any of you liberty to join yourselves to any other society, because your pastor is removed from you ; for you were not joined to the ministry, but to Christ, and the church ; and this is and was the will of God in Christ to all the churches of the saints—read Acts ii. 42, and compare it with Acts i, 14, 15, and I charge you before the Lord, as you will answer it at the coming of our Lord Jesus, that none of you be found guilty herein.

“ Secondly, Be constant in your church assemblies. Let all the work which concerns the church be done faithfully among you ; as admission of members, exercising of gifts, election of officers, as need requires, and all other things as if named, which the scripture being searched will lead you into, through the Spirit ; which things if you do, the Lord will be with you, and you will convince others that Christ is your head, and your dependency is not upon man ; but if you do the work of the Lord negligently, if you mind your own things and not the things of Christ, if you grow of indifferent spirits whether you mind the work of the Lord in his church or no. I fear the Lord by degrees will suffer the comfort of your communion to be dried up, and the candlestick which is yet standing to be broken in pieces ; which God forbid.

“ Now concerning your admission of members, I shall leave you to the Lord for counsel, who hath hitherto been with you ; only thus much I think expedient to stir up your remembrance in ; that after you are satisfied about the work of grace in the party you are to join with, the said party do solemnly declare (before some of the church at least) That UNION with CHRIST is the foundation of all saints' communion ; and not [merely your agreement concerning] any ordinances of Christ, or any judgement or opinion about externals ; and the said party ought to declare, whether a brother or sister, that through grace they will walk in love with the church, though there should happen any difference in judgment about other things. Concerning separation from the church about baptism, laying on of hands, anointing with oil, psalms, or any externals, I charge every one of you respectively, as ye will give an account of it to our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge

both quick and dead at his coming, that none of you be found guilty of this great evil ; which while some have committed, and that through a zeal for God yet not according to knowledge, they have erred from the law of the love of Christ, and have made a rent from the true church, which is but one. I exhort you brethren, in your coming-together, *Let all things be done decently and in order*, according to the scriptures. Let all things be done among you *without strife and envy*, without self-seeking and vain glory. Be clothed with humility, and submit to one another in love. Let the *gifts* of the church be exercised according to order ; let no gift be concealed which is for edification ; yet let those gifts be chiefly exercised which are most for the perfecting of the saints. Let your discourses be to build up one another in your most holy faith, and to provoke one another to love and good works ; if this be not well minded, much time may be spent and the church reap little or no advantage. Let there be strong meat for the strong, and milk for babes. —In your assemblies avoid all disputes which gender to strifes, as questions about externals, and all doubtful disputations. If any come among you who will be contentious in these things, let it be declared that you have no such order, nor any of the churches of God. If any come among you with any doctrine contrary to the doctrine of Christ, you must not treat with such an one as with a brother, or enter into dispute of the things of faith with [unscriptural] reasonings ; but let such of the brethren as are the fullest of the Spirit, and of the word of Christ, oppose such an one stedfastly face to face, and lay open his folly to the church from the scriptures.—If a brother through weakness speak any thing contrary to any known truth of God (though not intended by him) some other brother of the church must in love clear up the truth, lest many of the church be laid under temptation. Let *no respect of persons* be in your comings-together ; when you are met as a church ; there's neither rich nor poor, bond nor free in Christ Jesus. 'Tis not a good practice to be offering places and seats when those who are rich come in, especially 'tis a great evil to take notice of such in time of *prayer* or the word ; *then* are bowings and civil observances at such times not of God.—*Private wrongs are not presently to be brought unto the church* : if any of the brethren are troubled about externals, let some of the church (let it not be a church business) pray for and with such parties.

“ *None ought to withdraw from the church if any brother should walk disorderly*, but he that walketh disorderly must bear his own burden, according to the scriptures ; if any brother walk disorderly, he cannot be shut out from any ordinance before church censure. Study among yourselves what is the nature of fellowship, as the word, prayer, and breaking of bread ; which, whilst few, I judge, consider seriously, there is much falling short of duty in the churches of Christ. You that are most eminent in profession, set a *pattern* to all the rest of the church. Let your faith, love, and zeal be very eminent ; if any of you cast a

dimmer light, you will do much hurt in the church. Let there be kept up among you solemn *days of prayer and thanksgiving*; and let some time be set apart, to seek God for your *seeds*, which thing hath hitherto been omitted. Let your *deacons* have a *constant stock* by them to supply the necessity of those who are in want; truly, brethren, there is utterly a fault among you that are rich, especially in this thing; 'tis not that little which comes from you on the first day of the week that will excuse you. I beseech you be not found guilty of this sin any longer. He that sows sparingly shall reap sparingly. Be not backward in your gathering-together; let none of you willingly stay till part of the meeting be done, especially such who should be examples to the flock. One or two things are omitted about our comings-together, which I shall here add: I beseech you *forbear sitting in prayer*, except the parties be any way disabled; 'tis not a posture that suits with the majesty of such an ordinance; would you serve your prince so? In prayer let all affected expressions be avoided, and all vain repetitions; God hath not gifted, I judge, *every* brother to be a mouth to the church. Let such as have most of the demonstration of the Spirit and of power, shut up all your comings-together, that you may go away with your hearts comforted and quickened. *Come together in time*, and leave off orderly; for God is a God of order among his saints. Let none of you give offence to his brother in indifferent things, but be subject to one another in love. Be very careful what gifts you approve of by consent for public service.

"Spend much time before the Lord about choosing a pastor, for though I suppose he is before you whom the Lord hath appointed, yet it will be no disadvantage to you, I hope, if you walk a year or two as you are before election; and then if you be all agreed, let him be set apart, according to the scriptures. Salute the brethren who walk not in fellowship with you, with the same love and name of brother and sister as those who do.

"Let the promises made to be accomplished in the latter days, be often urged before the Lord in your comings-together; and forget not your *brethren in bonds*. Love him much for the work's sake who labours over you in the word and doctrine. Let no man despise his youth. Muzzle not the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn to you. Search the scripture; let some of them be read to you about this thing. If your teacher at any time be laid aside, you ought to meet together as a church, and build up one another. If the members at such a time will go to a public ministry, it must first be approved of by the church. Farewell; exhort, counsel, support, reprove one another in love.

"Finally, brethren, be all of one mind; walk in love one to another, even as Christ Jesus hath loved you, and given himself for you. Search the scriptures for a supply of those things wherein I am wanting. Now

the God of peace who raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, multiply his peace upon you, and preserve you to his everlasting kingdom by Jesus Christ. Stand fast; the Lord is at hand."

"JOHN GIFFORD."

"Holy Mr. Gifford," the evangelist of Bunyan's dream, died on the 21st day of September, 1656. Mr. Jukes, in preaching one of his last sermons in the Old Meeting, stated, respecting Mr. Gifford, that "he does not appear to have been known to the brethren here, at the most, more than from ten to twelve years before his death. They enjoyed the advantages of his pastorate only from 1650 to 1656. How then are we to account for the simplicity, maturity, comprehensiveness, and liberality of his views! He was evidently a man of sound understanding and sanctified affections. By his conversion he was introduced to a state where he found every thing new, strange, and unintelligible. He sought an authorized and competent interpreter. He could find it only in the Bible. The claims of this blessed book were no sooner established in his mind than he adopted it for his guide. From it he obtained his views of the doctrines to be preached by himself as a minister, and of the principles to be exemplified by his people as a church. He appears to have come with as much facility as firmness to the conclusion that union among the followers of Christ could be hoped for only on the ground of the great essentials of His religion; he therefore, without hesitation, assigned to its circumstantials their proper place; and established a communion which was to be open to all believers, without any distinction as to name or sect. Such is the constitution of our church at the present day. And the fact that many other churches are now being formed upon its model is a proof at once of the foresight and wisdom of its founder. How many members were added to the twelve of which the church was originally composed, while it was under the care of Mr. Gifford, we cannot determine, because there is no account of its proceedings, during his pastorate, now extant. The entries in the church book begin with the year of his death; and what is inserted previously respecting the formation of the church, was, we are told, collected by the writer of it, in the year 1699, from Mrs. Negus, a daughter of Anthony Harrington, who was one of the most eminent of its first members."

The Rev. Benjamin Burton succeeded Mr. Gifford, but whether or not he was associated with him in the work of the Christian ministry, seems now to be quite unknown. Notwithstanding, however, that nothing is mentioned in the records of the church respecting his ordination, or election to the pastorate, we are informed that "he, like his predecessor was a Baptist," that he "had in general very poor health," that he was "frequently interrupted through sickness in the exercise of his ministry," and that he "died in June or July, 1660." "There is every reason to think that his pastorate was a time of much prosperity,

both from the additions then made to the church, and the measures adopted by it for promoting the spiritual prosperity and temporal comfort of its members. At a meeting held 'on the first day of the eighth month in the year 1656, it was agreed that two brethren should be made choice of, every monthly meeting, to go abroad to visit our brethren and sisters, and to certify us how they do.' 'The sixteenth day of this month was appointed to seek God in, by prayer.' In the ninth month they resolved to make some provision for the poor; and in the tenth suspended an inconsistent member, after having examined into his case with all christian affection and fidelity. These were decisive evidences, not only of vitality, but vigour.*

After the death of Mr. Burton the church offered the pastorate to the Rev. Mr. Wheeler, a member of the church at Newport Pagnell, but he did not accept it. And for more than three years after the death of Mr. Burton, the church was unsuccessful in getting a stated minister. At the commencement of October, 1663, the Rev. Samuel Fenn, and the Rev. Benjamin Whiteman, both of whom were members of the church and of the baptist denomination, were ordained *joint* pastors. The following interesting account of the meeting is recorded in the church book:—"At a meeting of the church in Bedford, in the beginning of the tenth month of the year 1663, the former intention and desire of the church, that Mr. Wheeler should minister to them in the office of a pastor or elder, not being prosecuted, by reason partly of the unwillingness of the congregation, whereof he was a member, to give him up to us, and also his own unwillingness upon that account; and partly because the church here afterwards thought it not convenient to press it, lest it might indeed prove a disadvantage to their brethren aforesaid,—the church (notwithstanding their sore persecutions, which have come upon them) having spent many days in prayer, with fasting, to seek a right way from the Lord in this matter, did joyntly make choyce of brother Samuel Fenn (now lately delivered out of prison) and brother Joseph Whiteman, for their pastors and elders, to minister the word and ordinances of Jesus Christ unto them, and they, at this meeting, did solemnly before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, give up themselves to serve, feed, and watch over this congregation, for Jesus' sake; according to the charge laid upon them, and assisted by you according to the measure of grace received." This mode of setting men apart for the work of the ministry was very simple;—was it not also very solemn?

Mr. Jukes informs us that "during the three months immediately following this interesting service fifteen persons joined themselves to the church, regardless of all the dangers to which they might expose themselves by doing so. Of church meetings, however, we have now

* Rev. John Jukes.

no further accounts of our own for four years and a half. But it has been stated on other authority that if at some seasons they were interrupted, at others they were held with a great degree of order and regularity, sometimes in one, and sometimes in another of the neighbouring villages. The altered practice of the people in this respect, is to be ascribed to the change which had taken place in the government of our country. In 1660 the commonwealth was again replaced by the monarchy, which it had itself superseded eleven years before. Charles the Second now succeeded to the throne of his father with fair promises of religious liberty on his lips, but a deadly hatred of it in his heart. This appeared first in the Act of Uniformity which was passed on the 19th of May and put in force on the 24th of August,—Bartholomew's day,—in the year 1662: when two thousand of the most eminent of the clergy, because they could not yield to its requirements, resigned their preferment; though many of them by doing so gave up all the means they had of support. This odious measure was succeeded in the year 1664 by another conceived in the same spirit, but intended to bear upon all classes of the people. 'It was pretended that disaffected persons might assemble on the plea of religious worship to promote treasonable designs; and a bill was passed, in which all private meetings for religious exercises, including more than five persons beside the members of the family, were insultingly described as conventicles, and declared to be unlawful and seditious. The offender against this Act was fined, in the first instance five pounds, or imprisoned three months, for the second ten pounds, or imprisoned six months; for a third offence the penalty was one hundred pounds, or transportation for seven years; and every offence beyond a third, exposed the party to a repetition of this fine, or of the consequence of its non-payment. All this, moreover, was done in contempt of that sacred institute,—trial by jury; the awarding of these penalties being left to the discretion of any justice of the peace.'

"The interruptions of the little church at Bedford, which we have already spoken of, was the natural and obvious result of these enactments. The sufferings to which its members were then subjected, and which they endured for the sake of 'a good conscience' were such as few suspect. They are affectingly detailed in a pamphlet published in 1670 'for general information' and entitled 'A true and impartial narrative of some illegal and arbitrary proceedings, by certain justices of the peace and others, against several innocent and peaceable nonconformists in and near the town of Bedford, upon pretence of putting in execution the late Act against conventicles.'

"Of *all* the parties affected by these proceedings it is of course impossible now to speak, but there are two or three of them who must not be passed over in silence. The author commences his narrative by telling us that on Lord's-day, May 15th, the officers entered the house

of John Fenn, a haberdasher of hats, where many were assembled for religious exercises, and forced the *meeters* to the house of Mr. Foster, who fined all the hearers, each according to his circumstances, and committed the preacher to prison. There was, however, considerable difficulty in levying the fines, on account of the hostility manifested by many of the other inhabitants of the town against the measure, and their absolute determination, if possible, to escape from being employed in executing it. Under these circumstances, Battison, the acting churchwarden on the occasion, seems to have been unable to make his demand upon John Fenn, until Tuesday, the 24th of May. Nor did he choose then to do so without first securing sufficient aid. Hence, according to the testimony of our informant 'Early in the morning he walked alone in the streets, looking into the shops, to engage men beforehand to be ready; which being soon perceived by the people, most of the tradesmen and other inhabitants, instantly, either deserted the town or hid themselves. About ten of the clock, however, old Battison with the soldiers and some constables, whom he had warned over night to be in readiness, marcheth up the high street, where he levieth the fine of £5 upon John Fenn, the haberdasher of hats before mentioned, at whose house the meeting was, taking away all the hats in his shop, and the next day carted away his household goods, because there were but twenty-nine hats in the shop, besides hat-bands, which they took away. Having thus dealt with this hatter, he proceeds to deal the same measure to another hatter, one Samuel Fenn, who was also fined £5 and dealt with as his brother before him, finding no more favour with them than the former.' This man, Samuel Fenn, was doubtless one of the pastors chosen to succeed Mr. Burton, and the very individual with whom Bunyan himself was afterwards associated in ministerial duties. There was another person whom Battison visited in his course, whose name will be mentioned hereafter, and therefore I will just advert to him now. This was Josias Ruffhead. He was the first of those whom they visited on the 30th of May. Their demand on him was £3 for which they took two timber trees of the value of £7. These are but specimens of the trials with which the members of our church were exercised, in the earlier days of its existence. But they are quite sufficient to shew why they could not then hold all their proper services."

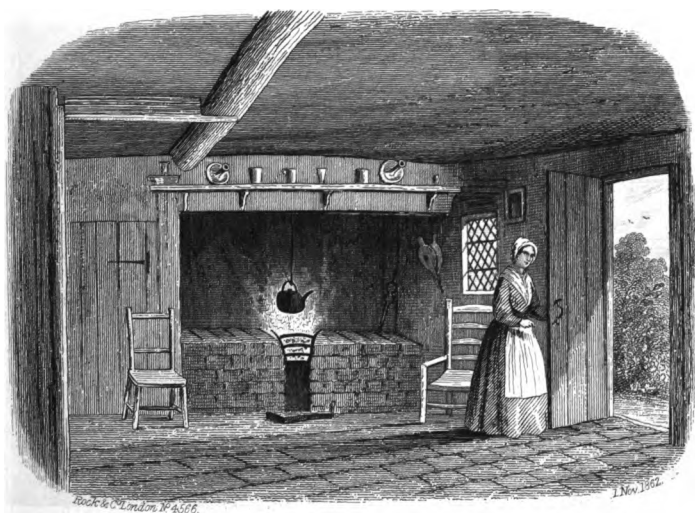
From the mural tablet situated in the porch of the present building, immediately opposite the entrance, we learn that Whiteman the colleague of Samuel Fenn, died in the year 1671. On the 21st of October in that year, the "Illustrious Dreamer," JOHN BUNYAN, was appointed to occupy his place.

There are few persons who have not heard of John Bunyan and his "Pilgrim's Progress."

He was born at the village of Elstow, one mile from the town of



John Bunyan's House, Elstow.



Interior of John Bunyan's House, Elstow.

Bedford, in 1628. "His descent," to use his own words, "was of a low and inconsiderable generation, his father's house being of that rank which is meanest and most despised of all the families in the land." His father was a tinker and brazier, Whether he was a gipsy* has been disputed. In after years when John was in soul distress, and was ignorantly but earnestly looking hither and thither for comfort, the thought occurred to him whether his family "were of the Israelites or no? For," he says, "finding in the Scriptures that they were once the peculiar people of God, thought I, if I were one of this race, my soul must needs be happy. At last I asked my father of it, who told me, no, we were not." Whether the father meant that his was not a gipsy family, or merely that the gipsies were not, as many supposed them to be, Israelites, cannot be determined. He is described in one of the earliest lives of Bunyan as "an honest poor labouring man, who, like Adam unparadised, had all the world before him to get his bread in." Even English tinkers, however, were generally vagrants, and were often confounded with the gipsies. The elder Bunyan, though a vagrant in his calling as a tinker, had a home at Elstow, and John was put to school when a boy. He soon forgot, however, the little he had learned, "and that almost utterly." His boyhood was spent in a course of rude, rough wickedness. "It was my delight," he says, "to be taken captive by the devil at his will, being filled with all unrighteousness; that from a child I had but few equals both for cursing or swearing, lying and blaspheming the name of God."

It does not appear that he indulged in sins of a licentious order. He speaks of himself as a ringleader of all the youth that kept him company into all manner of vice and ungodliness. But when he specifies the vices in which he indulged, he never mentions drunkenness or licentiousness. Daring profanity and reckless sabbath-breaking are the crimes which seem ever to rise up before his awakened conscience. "The strong depraving element in his character was his ungodliness." And that which made him notorious in the days of his ungodliness was the energy which he put into all his wicked doings. There could be no mistaking whose servant he was; he wrought the works of the devil without disguise.

* A nation of vagrants, supposed by some to be descendants of Hindoos, expelled by Tymour, about 1399. They appeared in Germany and Italy early in the 15th century. Although expelled from France in 1560, and from most countries soon after they are yet found in every part of Europe, as well as in Asia and Africa. In England an act was made against their itinerancy, in 1530: and in the reign of Charles I. thirteen persons were executed at one assizes for having associated with gypsies, for about a month, contrary to the statute. The gypsy settlement at Norwood was broken up, and they were treated as vagrants, May 1797. There were in Spain alone, previously to 1800, more than 120,000 gypsies, and many communities of them yet exist in England. Notwithstanding their intercourse with other nations they are, still, like the Jews, in their manners, customs, visage, and appearance, almost wholly unchanged. Their pretended knowledge of futurity still gives them power over the superstitious and ignorant. The Bible has been translated into the gypsy dialects. Esther Faa was crowned Queen of the Gypsies at Blyth, on November 18, 1860.

The author of his "life," published in 1692, who was one of his personal friends, says that the first thing that sensibly touched young Bunyan in his unregenerate state, was "fearful dreams and visions of the night, which made him cry out in his sleep and alarm the house, as if somebody was about to murder him; and being waked he would start and stare about him with such a wildness as if some real apparition had yet remained; and generally those dreams were about evil spirits, in monstrous shapes and forms, that presented themselves to him in threatening postures, as if they would have taken him away, or torn him in pieces."

The impressions thus produced were soon thrown off, and the mad youth rushed on in his career of sin. He once fell into the sea, and another time out of a boat into "Bedford river," the Ouse, and both times had a narrow escape from drowning. One day, in the field with a companion, an adder glided across their path. Bunyan stunned it in a moment with a stick, and, with characteristic daring, forced open the creature's mouth, and plucked out the fangs—a foolhardiness which, as he himself observes, might, but for God's mercy, have brought him to his end. But he was neither startled nor changed by these deliverances.

That such a youth should enter the army will occasion no surprise. He was at the siege of Leicester in 1645, and most probably among the royal troops. Here he had another narrow escape. He was appointed to a particular post. But when ready to set out, a comrade asked leave to take his place. Bunyan consented, and his companion, while standing sentry, was shot through the head, and died. But even this made no impression on Bunyan's mind. Whether he left the army when Charles was routed at the battle of Naseby, or was discharged, is not known. He returned to his native place only hardened in sin, and resolved to indulge in his accustomed pleasures. "His neglecting his business, and following gaming and sports, to put melancholy thoughts out of his mind, which he could not always do, rendered him," he tells us, "very poor and despicable." One advantage Bunyan derived from his brief military career—he gained a familiarity with military ideas and expressions which he turned to good account when, many years afterwards, he wrote his "Holy War."

When twenty years old, John Bunyan married. "And," he says, "my mercy was to light upon a wife whose father was counted godly. This woman and I, though we came together as poor as poor might be—not having so much household stuff as a dish or spoon betwixt us—yet this she had for her portion, 'The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven,' and 'The Practice of Piety,' which her father left her when he died." The young wife induced her husband to read these books, and became a great blessing to him.

He now "fell in very eagerly," he tells us, "with the religion of the

times, to wit, to go to church twice a day." He "said and sang" as others did, yet retained his wicked life. He was withal "so overrun with a spirit of superstition," that he "adored, and that with great devotion, both the high place, priest, clerk, vestment, service, and what else belonged to the church."

But superstition and practical ungodliness are no enemies to each other. On Sunday morning John Bunyan could worship the priest and the clerk and the church vestment; but on Sunday afternoon he was found among the foremost Sabbath-breakers on Elstow green.

One day the minister preached of the evil of breaking the Sabbath, either with labor, sports, or otherwise; and Bunyan left the church with a great burden on his spirit. But he had no sooner eaten his dinner, than he "shook the sermon out of his mind," and returned to his sports, with great delight. His pleasure, however, was short-lived. "In the midst of a game of cat," he says, "a voice did suddenly dart from heaven into my soul, which said, 'Wilt thou leave thy sins and go to heaven? or have thy sins, and go to hell?'" At this I was put into an exceeding maze." And the only escape he found from his perplexity was in despair. Like those of old who said, "There is no hope: no; for we have loved strangers, and after them will we go;" John Bunyan said, "I have been a great and grievous sinner; Christ will not forgive me. If the case be thus, my state is surely miserable; miserable if I leave my sins, and but miserable if I follow them. I can but be damned, and if I must be so, I had as good be damned for many sins, as be damned for few."

For a month or more the poor man, thus tossed between hope and despair, between remorse and the love of sin, went on in his evil ways, only grudging that he could not get such scope as his heart desired; when, one day standing at a neighbour's window, cursing and swearing, and, "playing the madman after his wonted manner," the woman of the house protested that he made her tremble, and that truly he was the ungodliest fellow for swearing that she had ever heard in all her life, and quite enough to ruin the youth of the whole town. The woman was herself a notoriously worthless character; and so severe a reproof, from so strange a quarter, had a singular effect on Bunyan's mind. He was silenced in a moment. He blushed before the God of heaven, and wished with all his heart that he were a little child again, that his father might teach him to speak without profanity; for he thought his habit so inveterate now, that reformation was out of the question. Nevertheless, so it was, from that day he was cured of that wicked practice, and people wondered at the change.

One by one John Bunyan gave up his outward sins. He made many concessions to conscience, while as yet he had not yielded his heart to

the Saviour. It was slowly, and regretfully, however, that he cut off "the right hand," and pulled out "the right eye" of his sins. One of his principal amusements was bell-ringing, his Sunday afternoons being generally spent in ringing merry peals for the villagers' diversion. It was only by degrees that he was able to abandon this favourite pastime. "What if one of the bells should fall," he thought? To provide against this contingency, he took his stand under a beam fastened across the tower. "But, what if the falling bell should rebound from one of the side walls, and hit me after all?" This second thought sent him down stairs, and made him take his station at the steeple door. "But what if the steeple itself should come down?" This thought banished him altogether from the scene, and he gave up bell-ringing.

John Bunyan, thus outwardly reformed both in his words and life, set the commandments, as he tells us, before him for his way to heaven; "which commandments," he says, "I also did strive to keep, and, as I thought, did keep them pretty well sometimes, yet now and then should break one, and so afflict my conscience; but then I should repent, and say I was sorry for it, and promise God to do better next time, and there got help again; for then I thought I pleased God as well as any man in England. Thus I continued about a year, all which time our neighbours did take me to be a very godly man—a new and religious man—and did marvel much to see such great and famous alteration in my life and manners. And indeed so it was, though I knew not Christ, nor grace, nor faith, nor hope; for as I have well since seen, had I then died, my state had been most fearful. But, I say, my neighbours were amazed at this my great conversion from prodigious profaneness to something like a moral life; and so they well might, for this my conversion was as great as for Tom of Bedlam to become a sober man. Now, therefore, they began to speak well of me, both before my face and behind my back. Now I was as they said, become godly—now I was become a right honest man. But, oh, when I understood these were their words and opinions of me, it pleased me mightily well.*"

While in this self-satisfied and self-righteous state of mind, John Bunyan went one day to Bedford in the prosecution of his calling, and found "three or four poor women sitting at a door in the sun, talking about the things of God." "Their talk," he says, "was about a new

* This and other extracts are from what may be called a spiritual autobiography of John Bunyan, written while he was in Bedford jail, the original title of which is as follows:—"Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners: or, a brief and faithful relation of the exceeding mercy of God in Christ to his poor servant, John Bunyan; wherein is particularly showed the manner of his conversion, his sight and trouble for sin, his dreadful temptations; also how he despaired of God's mercy, and how the Lord at length through Christ did deliver him from all the guilt and terror that lay upon him." It was written, according to the title page, "for the benefit of the tempted and dejected Christian."

birth, the work of God in their hearts, as also how they were convinced of their miserable state by nature ; they talked how God visited their souls with his love in the Lord Jesus, and with what words and promises they had been refreshed, comforted, and supported against the temptations of the devil. Moreover, they reasoned of the suggestions and temptations of Satan in particular ; and told to each other, by what means they had been afflicted, and how they were borne up under his assaults. They also discoursed of their own wretchedness of heart, and of their unbelief ; and did contemn, slight, and abhor their own righteousness, as filthy and insufficient to do them any good.

“ And methought,” he continues, “ they spake as if joy did make them speak ; they spake with such pleasantness of scripture language, and with such appearance of grace in all they said, that they were to me as if they had found a new world ; as if they were ‘ people that dwelt alone, and were not to be reckoned among their neighbours.’ ”*

“ At this I felt my own heart began to shake, and mistrust my condition to be nought ; for I saw that in all my thoughts about religion and salvation, the new birth did never enter into my mind ; neither knew I the comfort of the word and promise, nor the deceitfulness and treachery of my own wicked heart. As for secret thoughts, I took no notice of them ; neither did I understand what Satan’s temptations were, nor how they were to be withstood and resisted.

“ Thus, therefore, when I had heard and considered what they said, I left them, and went about my employment again. But their talk and discourse went with me ; also my heart would tarry with them, for I was greatly affected with their words, both because by them I was convinced that I wanted the true tokens of a truly godly man, and also, because by them I was convinced of the happy and blessed condition of him that was such a one.”

Bunyan began now to read the Bible with great eagerness. Those portions which he had hitherto disliked, the epistles of Paul, became the subject of his special study. He fell in at the same time with a sect of practical Antinomians, whose maxim was, that nothing is sin but what a man thinks to be so. He was strongly tempted to adopt this notion. But “ God,” he says, “ who had, as I hope, designed me for better things, kept me in the fear of his name, and did not suffer me to accept such cursed principles.”

He now finally parted from all his wicked companions. “ There was a young man in our town,” he says, “ to whom my heart before was bent more than to any other ; but he being a most wicked creature, I

* Numb. xxiii, 4.

shook him off and forsook his company. But about a quarter of a year after I had left him, I met him in a certain lane, and asked him how he did. He, after his own swearing and mad way, answered he was well. 'But, Harry,' said I, 'why do you curse and swear thus? What will become of you, if you die in this condition?' He answered me in a great chafe, 'What would the devil do for company, if it were not for such as I am.'" "There is such a wild, strange pathos," says one, "in the contrast between the old companions parting on the road of life—the affectionate tenderness of Bunyan, and the dare-devil recklessness of his friend."

"About this time," he tells us, "the state and happiness of these poor women at Bedford was thus, in a kind of vision, presented to me. I saw as if they were on the sunny side of some high mountain, there refreshing themselves with the pleasant beams of the sun, while I was shivering and shrinking in the cold, afflicted with frost, snow, and dark clouds. Methought, also, betwixt me and them I saw a wall that did compass about this mountain. Now through this wall my soul did greatly desire to pass, concluding that, if I could, I would even go into the very midst of them, and there also comfort myself with the heat of their sun. About this wall I thought myself to go again and again, still prying as I went, to see if I could find some gap or passage to enter therein. But none could I find for some time. At the last I saw, as it were, a narrow gap, like a little doorway in the wall, through which I attempted to pass. Now, the passage being very straight and narrow, I made many efforts to get in; but all in vain, even till I was right beat out in striving to get in. At last, with great striving, methought I at first did get in my head, and after that, by a sideling striving, my shoulders and my whole body. Then I was exceeding glad, went and sat down in the midst of them, and so was comforted with the light and heat of their sun. Now this mountain and wall were thus made out to me. The mountain signified the church of the living God; the sun that shone thereon, the comfortable shining of his merciful face on them them that were therein; the wall, I thought, was the word, that did make separation between the Christian and the world; and the gap which was in the wall, I thought was Jesus Christ, who is the way to God the Father. But forasmuch as the passage was wonderful narrow, even so narrow, that I could not, but with great difficulty, enter in thereat, it showed me that none could enter into life but those who were in downright earnest, and unless they left that wicked world behind them; for there was only room for body and soul, but not for body and soul and sin."

This waking dream, as it seems to have been, did Bunyan good. He was no longer a proud Pharisee, but a deeply humbled sinner. "My original and inward pollution—that was my plague and affliction," he says; "that I saw at a dreadful rate, always putting forth itself within

me; that I had the guilt of to amazement; by reason of that I was more loathsome in my own eyes than a toad; and I thought I was so in God's eyes too."

Years of despondency, however, passed over him before he came to the enjoyment of the peace of the gospel.

The light which first stole in upon his soul, and before which his darkness finally melted away, was, he tells us, a clear discovery of the person of Christ, more especially a distinct perception of the dispositions which he manifested while here on earth. And one thing greatly helped him. The providence of God threw in his way an old copy of Luther's Commentary on Galatians, "so old," he says, "that it was ready to fall piece from piece if I did but turn it over. When I had but a little way perused the book, I found my condition in his experience so largely and profoundly handled, as if his book had been written out of my heart." His happiness was now as intense as his misery had been. He wished he were fourscore years old, that he might die quickly, that he might go to be with Him, who had made his soul an offering for his sins. But another period of fearful agony awaited him, and like the last, it continued for a year. It arose from a temptation which took this strange and dreadful form—to sell and part with his Saviour, to exchange him for the things of this life—for anything. This horrid thought he could not shake out of his mind, day nor night, for many months together. It intermixed itself with every occupation, however sacred, or however trivial. The only case he could compare to his own was that of Judas Iscariot. At last, after many alternations of feeling, he so far emerged from his misery that "he seemed to stand upon the same ground with other sinners, and to have as good a right to the word and prayer as any of them." This was a great step in advance. Relief came slowly but steadily, and was the more abiding because he had learned by experience to distrust any comfort which did not come from the word of God. Such passages as these, "My grace is sufficient for thee," and "Him that cometh to me I will in nowise cast out," greatly lightened his burden; but he derived still stronger encouragement from "considering that the gospel, with its benignity, is much more expressive of the mind and disposition of God than the law with its severity. Mercy rejoiceth over judgment." "How shall not the ministration of the Spirit be rather glorious? For if the ministration of condemnation be glory, much more doth the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory. For even that which was made glorious had no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory that excelleth," 2 Cor. iii. 8-10.

One day, as he was passing into the field, these words fell upon his soul, "Thy righteousness is in heaven." "I saw moreover," he says, "that it was not my good frame of heart that made my righteousness better, nor my bad frame that made my righteousness worse; for my

righteousness was Jesus Christ himself, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever." He was now loosed from his bondage; his temptations fled away; and he went home rejoicing for the grace and love of God. The words, "Thy righteousness is in heaven," were not to be found in the Bible, but then there were these, "He of God was made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

This blessed truth was his peace with God. He was complete in Christ Jesus.

The occasion of the lengthened conflict through which John Bunyan passed into the kingdom of God, is not to be found in the gospel, but in himself. It was partly the result of his excitable temperament and an unbridled imagination. His sensitiveness amounted almost to disease. His passions and his love of sin were strong. And withal he was in early life very ignorant. Of one portion of the bitter struggles by which his progress to life was retarded he has himself said, that he was, "tossed between the devil and his own ignorance." A man cannot have too deep a sense of his guilt and sin in the sight of God. But when deeply abased before his Maker, he often finds it hard to confide in Jesus Christ as able to save to the uttermost. The way to the cross of Christ is very direct, and so plainly laid down in the Bible chart, "that he may run that readeth it." But men create difficulties to themselves and get out of the way, now to the right hand, and now to the left; and it is only after wearying themselves in vain with their devices that they consent to say—

"Just as I am, without one plea
But that thy blood was shed for me,
And that Thou bidd'st me come to Thee,
O Lamb of God, I come."

In the year 1653, being the twenty-fifth of his age, John Bunyan avowed his faith in Christ by connecting himself with the Baptist congregation in Bedford, of which those good women were members whose conversation had proved so profitable to his soul. His pastor was as illustrious a monument of Divine grace as himself.

In John Gifford, John Bunyan found a congenial friend and an instructive teacher. But his mental struggles were not yet at an end. "For three-quarters of a year," he says, "fierce and sad temptations did beset me to blasphemy, that I could never have rest, nor find ease." But obeying the Divine command, "Resist the devil," he received the fulfilment of the Divine promise, "and he will flee from you."

Soon after, Bunyan was threatened with consumption, and was compelled to look death in the face. His outward profession of religion and the good opinion of his fellow men were rightly judged by him to

be no sufficient evidence of his preparation for eternity. And when he began to recall his former experience of the Divine goodness, an "innumerable company of his sins flashed" into his memory, such sins as deadness and coldness in holy duties, wanderings of heart, and want of love to God in his ways. These are sins of which the unregenerate mind is unconscious; but they almost overwhelmed the tender conscience of John Bunyan. And "his soul was now greatly pinched," to use his own words, "between these two considerations, Live I must not, die I dare not: but" he adds, "as I was walking up and down in my house, as a man in a most woful state, that word of God took hold of my heart, ye are 'justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ,' Rom. iii. 24. And, oh, what a turn it made upon me!

"Now was I as one awakened out of some troublesome sleep and dream; and listening to this heavenly sentence, I was as if I had heard it thus expounded to me:—'Sinner, thou thinkest that, because of thy sins and infirmities, I cannot save thy soul; but behold my Son is by me, and upon him I look, and not on thee, and will deal with thee according as I am well pleased with him!'"

John Bunyan's position in society had greatly improved by this time, he was no longer in danger of being confounded either morally or socially with gipsies. "His family was increased," says one who knew him personally, "and God increased his stores; so that now he lived in great credit with his neighbours." Religion had elevated his character, and thereby elevated his condition in life. He soon became conscious of gifts which qualified him for doing good for his fellow men, and was persuaded by the church to which he belonged to give himself to preaching in the villages around Bedford. He entered on this work in 1655, and not a few Christian churches sprang up as the fruit of his labours. Thus began, in a spirit of deep humility and self-examination, the ministry of one who has been well described as "teacher alike of the infant and the aged; directing the first thought and removing the last doubt of man; property alike of the peasant and the prince; welcomed by the ignorant and honoured by the wise; the prose poet of all time."

So lowly were the village preacher's notions of himself, that "at first he could not believe that God should speak by him to the heart of any man." But many were moved by his glowing words. He preached what he felt, "what he smartingly felt," of the terrors of the law and the guilt of sin. He carried that fire in his own conscience, he says, that he persuaded his hearers to beware of. "The Lord did lead me to begin," he says, where the word begins with sinners; that is, to condemn all flesh, and to open and allege that the curse of God by the law doth belong to and lay hold on all men as they come into the world, because of sin. Now this part of my work I fulfilled with great sense;

for the terrors of the law, and guilt for my transgressions, lay heavy on my conscience. Thus I went on for the space of two years, crying out against men's sins, and their fearful state because of them. After which the Lord came in upon my own soul with some sure peace and comfort through Christ; for he did give me many discoveries of his blessed grace through him. Wherefore now I altered in my preaching; for still I preached what I saw and felt. Now therefore I did much labour to hold forth Jesus Christ in all his offices, relations, and benefits, unto the world, and did strive also to discover, to condemn, and remove all those false supports and props on which the world doth both lean, and by them fall and perish. On these things also I stayed as long as on the other. After this, God led me into something of the mystery of union with Christ; wherefore, that I discovered and showed to them also. And when I had travelled through these three chief points of the word of God, I was caught in my present practice, and cast into prison, where I have lain alone as long again to confirm the truth by way of suffering, as I was before in testifying of it according to the Scriptures in a way of preaching."

On one occasion he was expected to preach in a parish church near Cambridge (for churches were often so used during the Protectorate of Cromwell), and a concourse of people had already collected in the churchyard. A gay student was riding past, when he noticed the crowd, and asked what had brought them together. He was told the people had come out to hear one Bunyan, a tinker, preach. He instantly dismounted and gave a boy twopence to hold his horse, for he declared he was determined to hear the tinker prate. So he went into the church and heard the tinker; but so deep was the impression which that sermon made on the scholar, that he took every subsequent opportunity of attending upon Bunyan's ministry, and himself became a successful preacher of the gospel in Cambridgeshire. The author of a "Life and Death of Mr. John Bunyan, written by a friend to the cause of true religion," says, "This story I know to be true, having many times discoursed with the man, and therefore I could not but set it down as a singular instance of the power of God that accompanied his ministry."

In 1660 Charles II. was restored to the throne of his fathers. Before leaving his exile at Breda, he had issued a proclamation in which he had promised "liberty to tender consciences, and that no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in religion, which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom." But these promises were made only to be broken. The most cruel measures were adopted to crush every "difference of opinion." "Tenderness" and freedom of conscience were utterly disregarded. But many were resolved to obey God rather than man; and, in spite of the vigilance of magistrates and informers, meetings for worship were held, often indeed at most unseasonable hours. It is said that on one occasion, to avoid discovery, John

Bunyan went from a friend's house disguised as a carter, with his white frock, and his whip in his hand, to attend a private meeting in a sheltered field or barn.

For some time John Bunyan and his friends escaped capture. They met privately in barns, milk-houses and stables. The good man embraced every opportunity of administering consolation to his friends and arming them with a steady resolve to be patient in suffering, and to trust in God for their safety and reward. At length an information was laid against him, and steps were taken to seize him in the act of worshipping God with some pious neighbours. On November 12, 1660, as the winter was setting in, having been invited to preach at Samsell, in Bedfordshire, he prepared a sermon upon these words; "Dost thou believe on the son of God?"—St. John ix. 35.

Francis Wingate, a neighbouring justice of the peace, having heard of the intended meeting, issued his warrant to bring the preacher before him. The intention of the magistrate was whispered about, and came to Bunyan's ears before the meeting was held. His friends advised him to forego the service. It was a trying moment for him; he had a beloved wife and four dear children, one of them blind, depending upon his daily labour for food. If he escaped, he might continue his stolen opportunities of doing good to the souls of men. He hesitated but for a few minutes; he had hitherto shewn himself hearty and courageous in preaching, and it was his business to encourage the timid flock. He retired to seek Divine direction, and came back resolved to abide the will of God. It was the first attempt near Bedford to apprehend a preacher of the gospel, and he thus argued with himself: "If God, of his mercy, should choose me to go upon the forlorn hope, that is, to be the first that should be opposed for the gospel, if I should fly, it might be a discouragement to the whole body that should follow after. And I thought that the world would thereby take occasion at my cowardliness, to blaspheme the gospel." It was a great mercy, he said to his friends, that they had been kept from crimes which might have caused their apprehension as thieves and murderers.

When brought before Justice Wingate, John Bunyan was asked and urged to promise not to preach again. One word would have secured his liberty. But that word would have sacrificed his religious convictions, and these were dearer to him than life itself. He had the reward of his fidelity in the joy with which he was enabled to suffer shame and go to prison. "Verily," he says, "as I was going forth of the doors I much ado to forbear saying to them, that I carried the peace of God along with me; and, blessed be the Lord, I went away to prison with God's comforts in my poor soul."

Many attempts were made to induce Bunyan to promise that if he was

set at liberty he would not preach again. Even the judge at the Bedford assizes entered into a long argument with him, but all in vain. "Then," said the judge, a coarse and cruel man, "hear your judgment. You must be had back again to prison, and there lie for three months following; and then, if you do not submit to go to church to hear Divine service, and leave your preaching, you must be banished the realm; and after that, if you shall be found in this realm without special licence from the king, you must stretch by the neck for it." The hero answered, "I am at a point with you: if I were out of prison to-day, I would preach the gospel again to-morrow, by the help of God."

At the end of three months Bunyan became anxious to know what his enemies intended to do with him. But to give up or shrink from his profession of Christ he dared not. He familiarized his mind with all the circumstances of an appalling death; and the gibbet and the halter lost much of their terrors. He even studied the sermon he would preach to the spectators of his execution. But Charles II. was pleased to celebrate his coronation in April 1661, by ordering the release of numerous prisoners of certain classes, and to one of these classes Bunyan belonged. This stayed further proceedings in his case. But all attempts to effect his liberation failed. Felons and men guilty of various misdemeanours were let loose upon society to "grace the coronation;" but John Bunyan and other prisoners for conscience' sake were left to pine in loathsome dungeons.

The prison in which John Bunyan spent twelve long years,* was a miserable place, scarcely fit to be the habitation of dogs, well called a "den" in the first sentence of the Pilgrim's Progress. But even here the good man would not be idle. One of his first concerns was how to provide for his wife and four children. He had lost the wife of his youth some time before, and her illness and death seem to have absorbed all the savings of the brazier's industry. His second wife was a modest, timid woman, but in her spirit worthy of her noble-minded husband. His parting with her was as "the pulling of the flesh from the bones." His heart was peculiarly moved by the condition of his blind child. But this promise came to his relief—"Leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive; and let thy widows trust in me." The promise encouraged his industry, and he learned to make long-tagged laces, which he was permitted to sell at his prison door, his much loved blind daughter often standing by his side.

* Of course the question of the prison on the bridge, being the place of Bunyan's detention, is an open one, and one on which the reader must form his own opinion. There are two strong facts in favour of the *County Prison*,—first, Bunyan's preaching at Samsell would be a County offence; secondly, the 60 Baptists from Keysoe, who are known to have been imprisoned at the same time, could not possibly be got into the prison on the bridge, if the description usually given of its size may be trusted.

Nor was he without opportunities of doing good to the souls of his fellow prisoners. At one time there were not fewer than sixty suffering for conscience' sake imprisoned with him, "by which means," says one who visited him, "the prison was very much crowded; yet in the midst of all that hurry which so many new comers occasioned, I have heard Mr. Bunyan both preach and pray with that mighty spirit of faith and plerophory (full assurance) of Divine assistance that has made me stand and wonder." His fame for wisdom brought him many visitors from the country all around, who came with their doubts and fears and cases of conscience to be solved. And a wise and tender-hearted counsellor he was.

Some of his jailers were cruel men; but one of them appreciated his character, and allowed him much freedom. During the latter portion of his imprisonment he was permitted to preach in the villages and woods, and on one occasion to go to London to visit his friends. This last act of liberty well nigh cost the jailer his post, and the prisoner was more strictly confined for some time after. But this strictness was gradually relaxed, and it is said that many of the Baptist congregations in Bedfordshire owe their origin to his midnight preaching. For months together he was a constant attender of the church meetings of his brethren in Bedford, and was actually chosen pastor before the close of his incarceration. On one occasion, a messenger was sent from London to Bedford to ascertain the truth of the rumours which were abroad as to the liberty which was granted to him. The officer was instructed to call at the prison during the night. It was a night when Bunyan had received permission to stay at home with his family; but so uneasy did he feel that he told his wife that he must go back to his old quarters. So late was it, that the jailer blamed him for coming at such an untimely hour; but a little after the messenger arrived. "Are all the prisoners safe?" "Yes." "Is John Bunyan safe?" "Yes." "Let me see him." Bunyan was called, and the messenger went his way; and when he was gone, the jailer told Bunyan, "Well, you may go out again just when you think proper, for you know when to return better than I can tell you." His release was effected finally only through the intercession of certain members of the Society of Friends; one of their number having assisted the king eighteen years before, in his flight from England after the battle of Worcester.

The chief memorial of John Bunyan's long imprisonment from 1660 to 1672, is the composition of that book of world-wide fame and usefulness—"The Pilgrim's Progress from this world to the next."

Its origin is thus described by himself:—

"I writing of the way
And race of saints, in this our gospel day,
Fell suddenly into an allegory
About their journey, and the way to glory—

In more than twenty things, which I set down ;
 This done, I twenty more had in my crown ;
 And they again began to multiply,
 Like sparks that from the coals do fly.
 Nay then, thought I, if that you breed so fast
 I'll put you by yourselves, lest you at last
 Should prove ad infinitum and eat out
 The book that I already am about.

Thus I set pen to paper with delight
 And quickly had my thoughts in black and white.
 For having now my method by the end,
 Still as I pull'd, it came, and so I penn'd
 It down ; until at last it came to be,
 For length and breadth, the bigness which you see.

Bunyan read his composition to his fellow prisoners as it advanced in progress, to their no small instruction and even amusement. But while some approved, others doubted the propriety of such a mode of setting forth Divine truth. And these doubts on the part of even good men prevented the publication of the book for several years after the author's liberation from prison.

"Some said, John, print it ; others said, Not so :
 Some said it might do good ; others said, No."

The world has reason to bless God that this precious writing was put into the printer's hands. There are few nations under heaven which cannot now read in their own tongue the thoughts of that honest Bedford tinker, who preferred a prison with a good conscience to all the sweets of liberty enjoyed at the cost of fidelity to Christ.

Not a few other books were written by the busy pen of John Bunyan during his imprisonment ;* and we have his own testimony that notwithstanding all the evils to which he was subjected he was a happy man. Fetters could not tame his spirit, nor prevent his communion with God.

When John Bunyan finally left Bedford jail he was forty-four years of age. His first concern was to make suitable arrangements for carrying on his worldly business, which he seems to have done through his family to the end of his life. At the same time he entered with all his soul into his beloved work of preaching and writing, to set forth the glories of his Saviour. As a pastor he was indefatigable in visiting the sick, preaching from house to house, and otherwise promoting the kingdom of Christ ; till in a short time he obtained the appellation of "Bishop Bunyan." He visited London once a year, where his ministry

* The entire works of Bunyan comprise upwards of sixty books or treatises.

was so much prized that 1200 people would assemble to hear him at a morning lecture "by seven o'clock, on a working-day, in the dark winter time."

Among his hearers were to be found the learned as well as the unlearned. Dr. John Owen, when he had the opportunity, sat at the feet of the unlearned but eloquent tinker. Charles II., hearing of it asked the doctor, "How a man of his great erudition could sit to hear a tinker preach?" To which he replied, "May it please your Majesty, if I could possess the tinker's ability for preaching I would gladly give in exchange all my learning."

In 1682, Bunyan's church at Bedford suffered much persecution. For a season it was driven from its meeting-house, and obliged to assemble in the fields. It was in the same year that he published his beautiful allegory of "The Holy War." Bunyan escaped the dangers of the evil reign of James II. He was closely watched by the enemies of liberty; but all that he suffered was the occasional spoiling of his goods. Neither violence nor allurements could divert him from the onward path of duty.

The last year of his life was one of its busiest. He published six volumes, and left twelve others prepared for publication. Six months before James II. was driven from his throne, this holy man of God was taken to his rest. In the beginning of that memorable year, 1688, he had been prostrated by the "sweating sickness," but had recovered so far as to be able to undertake a work of mercy, from the fulfilment of which he ascended to his Father and his God.

A friend of Bunyan's who lived at Reading had threatened to disinherit his son; and his end was approaching. The son was much concerned at his father's estrangement, and begged Mr. Bunyan to intercede on his behalf. To accomplish this object, the good man undertook a journey to Reading on horseback, was successful in renewing the bonds of amity between father and son, and was returning from Reading to London, when he was thoroughly drenched with excessive rain. Cold and wet, he arrived at the house of Mr. Strudwick, a grocer on Snow-hill, where he was seized with violent fever.

During the ten days which followed, he enjoyed a holy frame of mind. His last words, while struggling with death, were, "Weep not for me, but for yourselves. I go to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who will, no doubt, through the mediation of his blessed Son, receive me though a sinner; where I hope we ere long shall meet, to sing the new song, and remain everlastingly happy world without end. Amen." He thus felt the ground solid under his feet in passing "the black river" which "has no bridge," and followed his "pilgrim" into the celestial city on the 12th of August, 1688, in the sixtieth year of his age.

Devout men carried all that was mortal of him to its last resting place in Bunhill Fields, and great lamentation was made over him.

In the days of his unbelief John Bunyan was a great sinner, and, to use an expression of his own, a "Jerusalem sinner;" but he became after his conversion an eminent Christian, like "Greatheart" of the Pilgrim's Progress.

Concerning the *character of Bunyan after his conversion* we give the following extract from "The Life and Death of Mr. John Bunyan, Author of the Pilgrim's Progress, &c., &c., &c. Printed by A. Paris, Roll's Buildings, Fetter Lane, London, for the Rev. Dr. T. Coke, and sold at his repository, No. 5, City Road, near Finsbury Square, 1806."

"When 27 years of age, Mr. Bunyan joined a congregation of pious Christians at Bedford. His natural abilities, eminent grace, and remarkable temptations, soon pointed him out as a proper person for the ministry. Curiosity naturally excited multitudes to attend his preaching, and he soon found that his labours were not in vain in the Lord. Such were his diffidence and modesty that at first he thought it incredible that God would speak to the heart of sinners by his means. But he was encouraged by many seals of his ministry. His views of the work, and his method in it, deserve notice and imitation. The Lord gave him much compassion for perishing sinners. He studied with great diligence to find out such words as might awaken the conscience; and 'he laboured much to hold forth Christ in all his offices, and relations, and to condemn all those false props on which worldly men lean and perish.' This fidelity excited many enemies, and the time in which he lived being a time of persecution for conscience sake, he was thrown in prison, and there continued in the whole, for twelve years.

"During this tedious imprisonment, he was enabled to possess his mind in much patience. The Lord was very gracious to him. He says himself that he never had such an insight into the Scriptures before. He had much sweet communion with God, precious views of the forgiveness of his sins, and the foretastes of eternal bliss. The thoughts of his afflicted family would sometimes press upon his mind, especially the case of one of his four children, who was blind. Mr. Bunyan was a man of strong affections, a tender husband, and a very indulgent parent. But he was supported under this affliction by these two scriptures, 'Leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive, and let the widows trust in me.—The Lord said, verily it shall be well with thy remnant; verily I will cause the enemy to entreat thee well in the time of evil.' He was not idle during his long and severe confinement, but was a diligent student of his Bible, which with the 'Book of Martyrs,' composed his whole library. His own hands also ministered to the necessity of his indigent family, but he was still more usefully employed,

in preaching to all who could gain access to jail, and with a spirit and power that surprised his hearers.

"It was here also that he composed several useful treatises, especially the 'Pilgrim's Progress;' a book which has done more good, perhaps, than any other, except the Bible; and by writing which he had probably been more extensively useful than if he had enjoyed the unrestrained exercise of his public ministry.

"At length the Lord, who has all hearts in his hands, disposed Dr. Barlow, then bishop of Lincoln, and others, to pity his unreasonable sufferings, and to interest themselves in procuring his enlargement—a circumstance which certainly does them honour.

"His active spirit soon improved the liberty afforded him. He visited the people of God in several places, especially the afflicted, tempted, persecuted, to whom he was now well qualified to speak a word in season. He also took this opportunity of paying his grateful acknowledgements to his friends whose kind assistance he had experienced in prison, and, as occasion offered, he preached the gospel with great boldness and acceptance, particularly to the congregation at Bedford, of which he was now chosen minister.

"Amidst all his popularity and success, he was kept humble, and was seldom or ever known to speak of himself. His whole behaviour was exemplary, so that malice herself is defied to find, even on the narrowest inspection, a single stain upon his reputation and moral character.

"His valuable life, worn out with sufferings, age, and ministerial labours, was closed with a memorable act of Christian charity. He was well known under the blessed character of a peace-maker.

"His natural abilities were remarkably great, his fancy and invention uncommonly fertile. His wit was sharp and quick, his memory tenacious, it being customary with him to commit his sermons to writing, after he had preached them. His works are collected in two volumes folio, and contain as many traits as he lived years. His piety and sincerity towards God were apparent to all who conversed with him. He constantly maintained the Godlike principle of love, resolving to have communion with the saints, as such, without respect to lesser differences and opinions; often bewailing the distinguishing appellations and denominations of Christians. He was a man of heroic courage, resolute for Christ and the gospel, and bold in reproving sin, both in public and private; yet mild, condescending and affable to all. Thus lived and died a man, in whose character, conduct, and usefulness, that scripture was remarkably verified—"Ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many

noble are called.—But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise : and hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty ; and base things of the world, and things which are despised hath God chosen ; that no flesh should glory in his presence.—1 Cor. i. 26-29.”

The Rev. A. Cleveland Coxe, rector of Grace Church, Baltimore, in his “*Impressions of England ; or Sketches of English Scenery and Society*,” published by Messrs. Dana and Company, of New York, has thus written :—“ Next morning, after breakfast at Merton, and a lunch at Jesus College, with some kind friends who were preparing to leave Oxford for the long vacation, I went, in the company of some of them, to Bedford, and there took coach for Cambridge. I thought of John Bunyan, who once inhabited the county jail, in this place, and there composed his wonderful allegory ; and as I began to travel along the banks of the Ouse, I thought of William Cowper, who was one of the first to do justice to his piety and genius. If the Church of England, sharing in the fault of the times (and visiting others with far milder penalties than both Papists and Puritans laid upon her) was in any sort a party to his ill usage, it must be owned that she had done him full justice, in the end. He owed his enlargement to the Bishop of Lincoln’s interposition, and Cowper and Southey have affixed the stamp, and given currency to the gold of his genius. I am ashamed that he was not taken into the Bishop of Lincoln’s house, and made a deacon, and so cured of the mistaken enthusiasm which was evidently the misfortune of the tinker, and not the natural bent of the man.”

The following memoranda respecting Bunyan’s Works may interest many of our readers :—

The first collected edition of the Works of Bunyan was commenced in folio, in 1692, under the direction and superintendence of Ebenezer Chandler (who succeeded Bunyan as pastor of the church at Bedford) and another Baptist minister, named John Wilson. It appears that it was to have been published in two volumes, but the first volume only was published ; it bears the date of 1692. In 1767, Bunyan’s Works, with a preface by George Whitefield, a portrait, and plates, was published in 2 volumes, folio, at £3 3s.

THE PILGRIM’S PROGRESS.—*The First Part.*—The first edition of the first part of the “*Pilgrim’s Progress*,” fcp. 8vo, 253 pages, was published in London in 1678 ; it is of excessive rarity, the only perfect copy known, was a few years since, in the possession of H. S. Holford, Esq. ; it has been valued at £50. The second edition was published in the same year, 1678, with additions, fcp. 8vo., 276 pages. The third edition in 1679, with portrait by R. White, 289 pages. The fourth edition in 1680 ; with portrait by Roy, 288 pages. The fifth edition contained a portrait and one woodcut at page 128 ; 1680, 221 pages. In the course of the following year, 1681, a second distinct fifth edition was brought out, illustrated with copper-plates, under which for the first time, Bunyan placed his verse. The only two copies known, were in the possession of the late Mr. Offer : they have been valued at £10 each. Pirated editions were published by Bradyl, but no copies seem to be known at the present day. &c., of the sixth edition is not known. The seventh edition, which contains

286 pages, portrait and one cut, bears the date of 1681. This edition was used by Bunyan in composing his second part. The *eighth* edition is dated 1682; the *ninth*, 1684; the *tenth*, 1685; the *eleventh*, 1688; the *twelfth*, 1689; the *thirteenth* bears no date; the *fifteenth*, 1702.

The Second Part.—In the year 1683, was *anonymously* published, called “The Second Part of the Pilgrim’s Progress:” it contained a frontispiece and a cut, but was not written by Bunyan: copies of this work are very rare; one copy may be seen in the Library of the Baptist Mission House, and one is in the possession of Mr. Offor. The *first* edition of Bunyan’s Second Part to his Pilgrim’s Progress was not published until 1684, when it was brought out in 224 pages, fcp. 8vo., with a frontispiece and two cuts; this edition is extremely rare. The *second* edition was probably published in 1687. The dates of the *third*, *fourth*, and *fifth* editions are unknown. The *sixth* edition is dated 1693; the *seventh*, 1696; the *eighth*, 1702; the *ninth*, 1708; since which date an innumerable host of editions of both parts, has been published, and circulated in nearly every part of the world, of various sizes and prices, and in every variety of style, from the coarsest and cheapest, to the most elegant and expensive.

In the year 1692, the so-called *Third Part*, was first printed, a *sixth* edition of which was published in 1705; but is regarded as being beyond all doubt, a contemptible and spurious production.

Amongst the many opinions which have been published regarding Bunyan and his Pilgrim’s Progress, the following appears to be the only one which speaks of them unfavourably. In “The Penny Cyclopædia of the Society for the diffusion of Useful Knowledge,” published by Charles Knight, of Ludgate Street, London, in 1836, appear the following remarks respecting Bunyan and “The Pilgrim’s Progress:”—“His works were collected in two volumes folio, 1786-7: among them the ‘Pilgrim’s Progress’ has attained the greatest notoriety. If a judgement is to be formed of the merits of a book by the number of times it has been reprinted, and the many languages into which it has been translated, no production in English literature is superior to this coarse allegory. On a composition which has been extolled by Dr. Johnson, and which in our own times has been received a very high critical opinion in its favour, it is hazardous to venture a disapproval, and we perhaps speak the opinion of a small minority when we confess that to us it appears to be mean, jejune, and wearisome.”

Dr. Johnson, however, in speaking of Bunyan, remarked that “His ‘Pilgrim’s Progress’ has great merit, both for invention, imagination, and the conduct of the story, and it has the best evidence of its merits, the general and continued approbation of the public.”

The well-known Thomas Arnold, D.D., late Head Master of Rugby School, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, in a letter to Mr. Justice Coleridge, dated Rugby, November 30, 1836, wrote as follows:—“I wish I could sympathize with you in what you say of our old divines. I quite agree as to their language; it is delightful to my taste; but I cannot find in any of them a really great man. I admire Taylor’s genius, but yet how little was he capable of handling worthily any great question? and as interpreters of

Scripture, I never yet found one of them who was above mediocrity. I cannot call it a learning worth anything, to be very familiar with writers of this stamp, when they have no facts to communicate: for of course, even an ordinary man may then be worth reading. I have left off reading our Divines, because, as Pascal said to the Jesuits, if I had spent my time in reading them fully, I should have read a great many indifferent books. But if I could find a great man amongst them, I would read him thankfully and earnestly. As it is, I hold John Bunyan to have been a man of incomparably greater genius than any of them, and to have given a far truer and more edifying picture of Christianity. His 'Pilgrim's Progress' seems to be a complete reflection of Scripture, and none of the rubbish of the theologians mixed up with it."

Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford, in his "Life and Correspondence of Dr. Arnold," informs us that "His admiration of the 'Pilgrim's Progress' was very great:—'I cannot trust myself,' he used to say, 'to read the account of Christian going up to the Celestial gate, after his passage through the river of death.' And when, in one of the foreign tours of his later years, he read it through again, after a long interval, 'I have always' said he, 'been struck by its piety: I am now struck equally, or even more, by its profound wisdom.'"

Henry Rogers in his "Essays, selected from contributions to the Edinburgh Review," (*vide* "Genius and Writings of Pascal," which essay appeared in the "Edinburgh Review," for January, 1847) remarks as follows:—"Bunyan tells us, that when his pilgrims, under the perturbation produced by previous terrible visions, turned the perspective glass towards the Celestial City from the summits of the Delectable Mountains, their hands shook so that they could not steadily look through the instrument, 'yet they *thought* they saw something like the gate, and also some of the glory of the place.' It is even so with many of the moods in which other 'pilgrims' attempt to gaze in the same direction; a deep haze seems to have settled over the golden pinnacles and the 'gates of pearl;' they, for a moment, doubt whether what others declare they have seen, and what they flatter themselves they have themselves seen, be any thing else than a gorgeous vision in the clouds; and 'faith' is no longer 'the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen.'"

And as there are probably few who have profoundly investigated the evidences of truth, who have not felt themselves for a moment at least, and sometimes for a yet longer space, as if on the verge of universal scepticism, and about to be driven forth, without star or compass, on a boundless ocean of doubt and perplexity, so these states of feeling are peculiarly apt to infest the highest order of minds. For if, on the one hand, these can best discern and estimate the evidence which proves any

truth, they, on the other, can see most clearly and feel most strongly, the nature and extent of the objections which oppose it ; while they are, at the same time, just as liable as the vulgar to the disturbing influences already adverted to. This liability is of course doubled, when its subject, as in the case of Pascal, labours under the disadvantage of a gloomy temperament."

Whilst speaking of the "Pilgrim's Progress" in a History of the town in which it was written, it may not be out of place to state that on the memorable visit to Bedford of that illustrious hero, the Italian Liberator, General Garibaldi, April 15, 1864, a copy of "Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress," (Cassell's illustrated edition), was presented to him by James Howard, Esq., then Mayor of Bedford ; it contained the following inscription :—"With the love of the Sunday School children of Bedford." The following letter written by the Rev. Alliott, minister of Howard Chapel also accompanied it :

"Bedford, April 15, 1864.

"SIR,—The Sunday School children wish me to present to you in their name, a copy of 'Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress.' Bunyan is the glory of this Town, and his work is of world-wide reputation, and therefore there is great propriety in presenting the work of such a man to you. As the offering of the Sunday School children, you will, I am sure still more appreciate it. In common with my countrymen, I am with profound esteem and admiration, Sir, yours faithfully,

"WILLIAM ALLIOTT."

"General Garibaldi."

The General acknowledged the present in a very pleasing manner.

We learn from Mr. Jukes that the following allusions to the death of Bunyan constitute the sum of what we have in the church book on the subject. "Wednesday the 4th of September, was kept in prayer and humiliation for this heavy stroke upon us—the death of dear brother Bunyan—appointed also that Wednesday next be kept in prayer and humiliation on the same account. At the meeting held on the 11th, 'It was appoynted that all the brethren meet together on the 18th of this month, September, to humble themselves for this heavy hand of God upon us, and also to pray unto the Lord for counsell and direction what to do in order to seek out for a fit person to make choice of for an elder.' 'On the 18th of September, when the whole congregation met to humble themselves before God by fasting and prayer for his heavy and severe stroke upon us in taking away our honoured brother Bunyan by death, it was agreed by the whole congregation that care be taken to seek out for one suitably qualified to be chosen an elder among us ; and *that* care was committed, by the whole, to the brethren at Bedford.

They either thought it necessary or saw it desirable, on this occasion, to go for a pastor beyond their own circle ; and they soon found one in the person of the Rev. Ebenezer Chandler. On the 16th of December, 1689, a church meeting was held for adopting the proper means to get him to undertake the pastoral office ; which proves that they had before, become fully satisfied as to his fitness for it. He must have assented to their proposal without delay, for we find them, only four days later, writing formally and officially to the church under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Taylor, in London, of which he had till then been a member, for his dismission ; and see him early in the following year acting as their minister."

Very little is known of Mr. Chandler previous to the period when he came to Bedford. The affection of the church to him, and their desire for his settlement among, is manifested in the following letter :

' The Church of Christ in and about Bedford, to the Church of Christ in London, of which Mr. Taylor is pastor, sendeth greetiny.

'Rev. and dearly beloved in our Lord Jesus,—Since the good providence of God hath directed Mr. Chandler, a member of your society, to exercise his ministerial gifts amongst us, we have experienced some benefit, by the blessing of God thereupon ; and not only among ourselves of the congregation, but from others resorting to hear the word of God, have we observed some awakening and comfortable effects of his preaching, which we could not but own as the will of God, for our encouragement to desire his continuance and settlement among us ; and did this day at a church-meeting, some time since appointed, signify our such desire to him ; in answer to which we had information from him of your having sent to him, that he might advise with, and be directed by you in this aforesaid matter ; which considering his relation to you, we did not gainsay ; but take leave thereby to offer the premises to your consideration. We do not doubt but the prosperity and enlargement of Christ's interest is heartily desired by you, and that among you, as well as your own congregation ; and if the great need we stand in of his help, the blessing and success of his endeavours,—the general consent and liking of this congregation, joined with the desire of many others, that are borderers and hearers, be well weighed by you, we are hopeful he may receive your allowance and consent to a settlement among us. The circumstances of our condition are known to Mr. Cockayne, who was at first instrumental to direct him to us. We entreat that some of you would consult him therein ; and so soon as possible you can, you would grant us a favourable return to, and concession of our request, which will be very thankfully accepted by your Christian friends, to serve you,

' W. WHITBREAD, &c., in the name of the rest.'

The following letter of dismission, sent in reply to the above, shows

how highly Mr. Chandler was esteemed by the Pastor and members of the Church in London :—

'The Church of Christ in London, whereof Richard Taylor is Pastor, to the Church of Christ in Bedford, sendeth greeting.'

'Dear Brethren,—Our beloved brother Ebenezer Chandler, having exercised his ministerial gifts among you for some time, with no little success, for the building up of saints and the bringing in of sinners ; and you having chosen and fixed upon him as a person judged every way fit for the pastoral charge of your church, have importuned us, at sundry times, with your reiterated request for his dismissal from us, that he might be received as a member among you, in order to his being separated to office-work. We have seriously considered and weighed the matter, and with a prospect of his being eminently serviceable to the common interest of our Lord Jesus Christ, are brought (although with no small reluctancy) to grant your request, and are willing to impoverish ourselves for the enriching of you. We do, therefore, give up unto you our dear brother ; and do hereby signify, that his reception among you as a stated member, shall be his formal and full dismissal from us.

'Wishing the advancement of truth and love in the midst of you, and begging an abundant blessing upon all your church administrations, together with a request that you would be mindful of us, we bid you heartily farewell.

'Signed in the name of the rest, RICHARD TAYLOR, Pastor, &c.'

That the minister so earnestly solicited and so affectionately recommended, was qualified for his work, and suited to be the successor of the ingenious and faithful Bunyan is evident, by the blessing with which his labours were attended ; for during his ministry the church was considerably increased, and the congregation so much enlarged, that in the year 1707, it was found necessary to build a new meeting house, on such a scale as to accommodate about 1000 hearers ; which meeting-house it is said, at that time only cost £400, besides the old materials.

Several of the members of the church were judged to be qualified for teachers ; among them was Thos. Bunyan, the son of the late pastor, who seems to have been a very active member and adviser of the church. The brethren who preached, found full employment in the villages, particularly at Blunham, Gamlingay, and Cardington-Cotton End. In the former two of these places distinct churches were formed and settled, with Mr. Chandler's approbation, during his ministry ; and they still continue to flourish. In the latter place a respectable church and congregation have been since established and collected.—Some of those who were called by the church at Bedford to preach the word of life, were invited to take the superintendence of other churches.

During Mr. Chandler's ministry here, the church had the honour of sending Mr. Bedford, a pædo-baptist, as a minister to Gamlingay, whence he afterwards removed to Royston,—Mr. Read, a baptist, to Chichester, and Mr. Sheldon, a pædo-baptist, as a minister to St. Neots. It also dismissed a number of members to the newly formed church at Blunham, and appointed Mr. Thompson to preach occasionally there.

Thus, like Joseph, "the church became a fruitful bough; even as a fruitful bough by a well, whose branches run over the wall." Mr. Chandler was a pædo-baptist. The commencement of his ministry was, therefore, the time of trial for the principle of open communion. At this early period it was also found necessary for a good understanding to be established, between him and his people, as to the propriety of singing in public worship.

Previous to his settlement at Bedford, it appears that it was not usual to sing in public worship, nor for the minister to pronounce the blessing at the close of the service; but, upon his acceptance of the call of the church, he influenced them to allow of singing the praises of God on one part of the sabbath, with a caution, that none others perform it but those who can sing with grace in their hearts;—and those who did not approve of singing, had liberty to choose whether they would be present or not.

The great principle on which the church was originally founded, being now mutually recognized, these questions were soon satisfactorily adjusted. This is proved by a correspondence which took place respecting them.

On the 23rd of February, 1691, Mr. Chandler wrote to the brethren at Gamlingay, the following letter:

"Dear brethren—In pursuance of your request, I have here written an account of what the church hath agreed for since my coming among them, that if I continue I may have my conscience clear towards God, and peace and comfort in my being with you. In the first place, our brethren have determined that those that are persuaded in their consciences that public singing is an ordinance of God, shall practice it on the Lord's day in our meeting in Bedford: those that are of different judgment, have their liberty whether they sing there or no, or whether they be present while we sing, so that they don't turn their backs on other parts of God's worship. Neither is it at all designed to be imposed or proposed to any other meeting of the church. *Again*, with respect to baptism, I have my liberty to baptise infants without making it my business to promote it among others; and every member is to have his liberty in regard to believers' baptism, only to forbear discourse

and debates on it that may have a tendency to break the peace of the church. When thought expedient the church doth design to choose an administrator of believers' baptism. *We do not mean to make baptism, whether of believers or infants, a bar to communion.* Only the church hath promised that none shall hereafter to my *griefs, or trouble, or dissatisfaction*, be admitted. Thus I have wrote as my judgment, *that* I shall stand by ; and it is the sentiments of our brethren, as our hands doth testify.

“EBEN. CHANDLER.”

To this letter an answer was promptly returned, written in the same spirit ; which is equally worthy of a place in these pages. It is thus expressed :

“We, the brethren of this church in and about Gamlingay, do heartily and cordially acquiesce in this letter, only desire to have liberty to speak or preach believers' baptism, if the Lord shall set it upon our hearts—yet with that tenderness as being far from any such designs as do tend in the least to the breaking the peace of the church ; and do heartily grant our brother Chandler the same liberty to speak or preach infant baptism, provided with equal tenderness. Witness our hands in the name of the rest :

“NICK MALIN,
“JOHN WEBB,
“FRANCIS BACON.”

Hence it appears that while the principle on which this church was constituted was defined by Gifford—its practice, as conformed to that principle, was determined by Chandler. They were evidently men of kindred spirit ; and were so happy, as to be surrounded by others who could duly appreciate that spirit, and cordially imbibe it. All Bunyan's teaching had, no doubt, served to increase the attachment of his brethren to Gifford's principle, and to prepare them for Chandler's practice. Nothing was more natural than for men in their circumstances to agree to differ in the mere forms of religion, when they saw that in this way they might be the more easily and firmly united in its grand and essential points.

In the year 1700, leave was given for singing on both parts of the day ; and it was also agreed that the benediction might be pronounced when the public worship concluded. At the same time it was resolved, That persons who were members of Presbyterian churches should be admitted to occasional communion, provided they were strict in separation from the national church. About this time several persons were subjected to church censure, for joining in worship with the public, as they then styled the National Establishment ; and the church repeatedly refused to dismiss members to churches that held communion

only with persons baptised by immersion. These facts need not surprise us, if we consider how Mr. Bunyan and his friends had been persecuted by the members of the Establishment for their dissent; and how roughly he had been handled by others, for his liberal sentiments upon free communion among real Christians at the Lord's Table, notwithstanding some differences on these subjects, which were not of the first importance.*

When Mr. Chandler became pastor, the church was, perhaps, mostly composed of Anti-Pædo baptists; but they did not hesitate to give him his liberty to baptize infants; while it was agreed that every member should have his liberty in believer's baptism, only to forbear debates upon it that might tend to break the peace of the church. The same open principle is still a favourite in the church; nor has the peace of it been interrupted, when some individuals have been baptized by sprinkling and others by immersion, in the same hour, and before the same assembly. If it should be thought that such a freeness of communion must make a person of either side indifferent to the practice he prefers, surely, it will be allowed, that a man may be firm in his own persuasion, and yet forbear debates that would break the peace of a church; and that the cultivation of peace and love among brethren, is better than violent contention about an outward rite, concerning which, some of the wisest and best of men have held different opinions.

The ordination of Mr. Chandler seems to have been conducted, like that of his predecessors, by the church alone. The ceremony is thus described. At a general church meeting at Bedford on the 18th day of December, 1691, "our beloved brother Ebenezer Chandler was elected and set apart to the work and office of pastor in this church of Christ, And it was then appointed that on Lord's-day come seven-night he do administer the Lord's supper to the members of this church."

"When Mr. Chandler was far advanced in years, it is said he married a person so young, that some of the people complained of the measure as imprudent. When he heard of it he said "Give my love to them, and tell them I never intend to do so again." When he was going with the congregation down the steps which lead to the old meeting-house, which was situated on low ground, a profane wag accosted him in the following manner:—

"If *upwards* be the way to bliss,
Prithee, Chandler, where leads this!"

* The Dissenters at Bedford are now treated so differently by the members of the Establishment, that the county magistrates a few years since, granted the use of the Session-House to the successor of Bunyan and his friends for public worship on the Lord's day; and they had it registered, and used it for about a quarter of a year, while their Meeting-house was under repairs.

To which the following answer might have been given, and the purport of it was probably given by Mr. Chandler, or some of his friends :—

“Those who desire the seats of bliss to see,
Must first descend in deep humility.”

It does not appear that Mr. Chandler published anything, except a Collection of Mr. Bunyan's Works, with a Preface, containing an excellent and well-drawn character of the author, and signed by Ebenezer Chandler and John Wilson, the latter of whom was a minister of the gospel at Hitchin.

In March, 1744, Mr. Chandler was obliged, from the increasing infirmities of old age, entirely to relinquish his office. He gradually descended to the close of his days, finishing his long and useful course with great credit to his profession, and ascribing glory to his Lord and Master. He died June 24, 1747, after having resided in Bedford nearly sixty years. What he says of Bunyan may, with equal propriety, be written of himself :—“His so long continuance in the work of the ministry was a great blessing to the church of Christ, in and about Bedford in particular, over which the Holy Ghost made him overseer ; his ministry being blessed to the edification, comfort, and establishment of the saints, as well as to the conversion of sinners.”

The Rev. Ebenezer Chandler was succeeded by the Rev. Samuël Sanderson. This pious and amiable man, was born at Sheffield, in Yorkshire, about the year 1702. He received his grammar learning under Mr. Clarke, of Hull ; the well-known author of several school books. Under this gentleman, he acquired a good knowledge of both Latin and Greek classics. He commenced his academical studies under the celebrated Timothy Jollie, tutor of a flourishing academy at Attercliffe, in Yorkshire. He, also, became a member of Mr. Jollie's church at Sheffield. Mr. Sanderson finished his studies in London, under the learned Mr. John Eames, F.R.S., the colleague of Dr. Ridgley. After completing the course of his education, he resided for some time at Kensington, as chaplain to the family of — Birch, Esq., cursitor-baron of the Exchequer. He also preached occasionally in and about the metropolis. From a manuscript list of dissenting ministers in and about London, in 1727, it appears that Mr. Sanderson preached, in that year, to an Independent congregation at Kensington. About the year 1732, he was chosen assistant to the Rev. James Wood, minister at the Weigh-House, in Eastcheap ; whence he removed, February 26, 1737, to be assistant to the Rev. Ebenezer Chandler, pastor of the dissenting congregation at Bedford.

Mr. Sanderson's labours were so highly approved by the congregation at Bedford, that, on May 14, 1740, he was ordained co-pastor with Mr.

Chandler; and that venerable man becoming blind and superannuated, about four years after, the whole service devolved upon him. At Bedford, he married a daughter of Mr. Thomas Woodward, a respectable brewer, who enjoyed great esteem and influence in the town, as well as in the congregation. She was a lady of excellent sense, as well as great piety; in whom he was exceedingly happy, but had no children. Her eldest sister was married to the Rev. James Belsham (father to the Rev. Thomas Belsham), who resided many years at Bedford, and preached at Newport Pagnel; but before he took the charge of that congregation, used, on the sacrament-day, to assist his brother Sanderson. The whole family lived in great harmony and friendship. Mr. Sanderson always expressed great satisfaction in his situation at Bedford, not only on account of his connections with an amiable family there, and the general respect he met with in the town, but the very considerable success which attended his ministerial labours. Under him, the church and congregation continued in a very flourishing condition; and the meeting-house, though a very large one, was completely filled to the last. Peace and harmony were preserved in the society notwithstanding some diversity of sentiment, particularly about baptism, a subject which he never brought forward for discussion, nor did he ever baptize any children in public, through fear of moving that controversy. He always dreaded a division, and studied the things that made for peace. By his prudence and good temper, he preserved the congregation from those animosities which took place after his death.

Mr. Sanderson was diligently attentive to the duties of his station, very seldom absenting himself from his flock. He constantly preached twice on the Lord's-day; and, in the evening, encouraged some of his hearers, who took down the substance of his sermons, in short-hand, to repeat them in the meeting. This exercise was accompanied with prayer, and designed chiefly for those who could not attend both the other services, or who had not families to occupy them at home. During the winter season, he had a lecture every Tuesday evening; and, in the summer, he catechised the children, for which service he was peculiarly qualified, and in which he was eminently useful. He addressed his catechumens in so familiar, condescending, and affectionate a manner, as was adapted to secure their love both to him and to religion. In the summer, he also preached occasionally in the neighbouring villages, whither it was esteemed a privilege by some of his young friends to attend him. Every Thursday evening, he had a meeting for prayer at his own house, for the space of one hour, when he was particularly solicitous to have the prayers of the brethren, with a view to the work of the following Sabbath.

Mr. Sanderson was blessed with a good constitution, and enjoyed such a considerable share of health, that he was but rarely interrupted in his public work. The disorder that proved fatal to him, was a

nervous fever, by which he was confined but eight days, and debarred from preaching only one Sabbath. In this respect his wishes were gratified; for, he had always desired that he might not outlive his usefulness. The last time he appeared in the pulpit, he preached from these words, *Neither count I my life dear unto me, so that I may finish my course with joy.* The manner in which he finished his course, is thus described by the Rev. Samuel Palmer, who was an eye-witness of his faith and Christian joy. "As soon as I heard of his illness, I went to see him. And though it was to me a melancholy visit, it was a truly edifying one. I never before, or since, saw so much of the power and excellence of religion. I sat up with him one whole night, great part of which he spent in prayer and praise, or in conversation with me, giving me his fatherly counsel, and relating the state of his mind on the review of life, and in the prospect of another world, to which he considered himself as near; for he expected from the first that his sickness would be unto death. He bore it with the greatest patience and resignation to the divine will, often repeating those words of Job, *Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.* And those of Paul, on which he commented in a striking manner, *These light afflictions which are but for a moment, work out for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.* He blessed God he was not slavishly afraid of death, nor yet greatly desirous of living; and added 'were I permitted to chuse for myself, I would refer it to God, and say, *Lord, not as I will, but as thou wilt.*' After this, he conversed with several of his other friends, with great freedom, almost to the last, much to their edification, who took down some of his memorable sayings. He spent much of his time in prayer, particularly in intercession for the world, for this kingdom, for the Church of Christ, and for his nearest friends; but more especially for his church and congregation, among whom, he reflected with satisfaction, he had laboured many years with great pleasure, and not without some success. He desired his hearers might know that he died in the same faith which he had professed, and that he felt the power of those blessed truths which he had preached, in supporting and comforting his soul on his dying bed. He continued in prayer till his breath was exhausted, and gently fell asleep in Jesus, Jan. 24, 1766, aged 63 years. Mr. Sanderson was buried January 29, in the ground belonging to his own meeting-house. The Rev. Samuel Palmer, of Hackney, spoke at the grave, and afterwards preached the funeral sermon, from 1 Peter v. 4. *And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.* This discourse was afterwards printed.

The character of Mr. Sanderson was amiable in every point of view; and, perhaps, few ministers have exhibited a brighter model of Christian excellence. He was a man of polite behaviour, of great humility and candour, and of uncommon benevolence and sweetness of temper, accompanied with habitual cheerfulness. This secured him the respect

and esteem of all who were acquainted with him, whether among the dissenters or in the establishment. He possessed a happy method of ingratiating himself with children and young persons; was eminent for piety and devotion; and had a singular talent for introducing serious discourse, even in mixed company, so as not only to avoid giving offence but to leave a favourable impression of his character, on the minds of those who were no friends to his principles, or to religion itself. As a minister of the gospel, he was highly exemplary; being conscientious and diligent in all the duties of the pastoral office. Though he did not possess any shining or popular talents as a preacher, yet, his discourses were acceptable and useful. Indeed, in this particular, he scarcely did himself justice. For, being prevailed upon by his people, to preach without notes, contrary to his former custom, his great diffidence was a bar to that fluency in public speaking, which was enjoyed by many of his inferiors. In point of sentiment, he was strictly Calvinistic; but his preaching was seldom very doctrinal, much less controversial: it was chiefly practical and experimental. His voice was clear, though not strong; so that he was distinctly heard by a large congregation, without any exertion. His manner of address was plain, easy, and unaffected; much in the conversational style; so that he was understood by the most illiterate. In prayer he possessed great variety, both as to matter and order. His language was plain and simple, his expressions scriptural and pertinent, and his delivery grave and solemn, well suited to the purposes of devotion. He had, also, this great excellence in his prayers, they were never long and tedious, twenty minutes being their utmost extent. As he was careful to guard his flock against errors in general, so he was particularly strenuous against Antinomianism. In this view he recommended Flavel on Mental Errors. Being a man of learning himself, though he was candid to his uneducated brethren in the neighbourhood, and admitted some of them into his pulpit, he was zealous for a learned ministry. He, therefore, encouraged young men, who were inclined to the ministerial office, to pass through a course of academical studies. Several who were in necessitous circumstances, he materially assisted, with the help of a few friends, in the expense of their education; and he, himself, previously initiated them, at his own house, in the Latin and Greek languages. He used particularly to inculcate upon his young friends lessons of humility (of which he was a bright pattern), and strongly cautioned them against being too forward to appear in public. But, when the proper time came for their entering the pulpit, he took a pleasure in putting them into his own, heard them with candour, and gave them the kindest encouragement. Mr. Sanderson brought up a nephew to the ministry Mr. John Hall, formerly preacher to the English church at Rotterdam. He was succeeded in his congregation at Bedford, by Mr. Joshua Symonds, on whose becoming a Baptist, a separation took place, and Mr. Thomas Smith was chosen pastor of the new interest. Mr. Sanderson's great modesty prevented him from ever publishing any thing, and he ordered his sermons and manuscripts to be burnt.

To the Rev. S. Sanderson, the church at Newport Pagnel owed one of its ablest and most devoted ministers,—the Rev. William Bull.*

Shortly after the death of the Rev. Samuel Sanderson the church was directed towards the Rev. Joshua Symonds, who was originally a member of the Independent church under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Jenkins, at Bromsgrove, in Worcestershire, and had been educated by Dr. Conder, at the academy at Mile End. Towards the close of his academical course, he was invited to spend a few Sabbaths with the destitute people at Bedford. He came in March, 1766, and, after having spent ten weeks here, was requested to remain a year on probation. He did so. At the end of this period it was found that his services had been acceptable, and he was accordingly asked to become the stated pastor. Such an invitation he did not feel at liberty to decline, and was, therefore, eventually ordained. *His ordination* was conducted in conformity with the present custom of dissenting communities. The principal parts of the service devolved on the Rev. Messrs. James, Boyer, King, and Addington. Although Mr. Symonds

* Through the kindness of the Rev. Josiah Bull, M.A., the present pastor of the church at Newport, the compiler is enabled to lay before his readers some additional facts respecting Mr. Sanderson, which may be found recorded in a most interesting work, entitled, "Memorials of Rev. William Bull, of Newport Pagnel, compiled chiefly from his own letters, and those of his friends, Newton, Cowper, and Thornton, 1738-1814, by his grandson, the Rev. Josiah Bull, M.A.; London—Nisbet."

Mr. Josiah Bull, speaking of the younger days of his own grandfather says, "William Bull lived with his grandfather, probably assisting him in his business. He appears to have suffered a good deal from ill health, and may have injured himself by his devotion to study. His earnest desire was to give up his secular occupation, and to devote himself to the ministry. At length Providence opened the way. His elder brother John had settled in business at Bedford, and he mentioned to his minister, the Rev. Samuel Sanderson, the circumstances of his younger brother. The result was that he came to Bedford, was introduced to Mr. Sanderson, who was struck with his piety and his talents, and determined to aid him in the accomplishment of his wishes." On his going to Bedford he found that Mr. Sanderson "was ready in every way to forward his wishes. His pursuit of knowledge, though ardent and various, had hitherto been desultory. So, to begin at the beginning, though there is evidence that he had some knowledge of Latin, his friend put into his hand 'Ruddiman's Rudiments.' To Mr. Sanderson's astonishment he found that in a *single fortnight* he had made himself perfect master of the entire book. The Rev. J. Belsham was at that time pastor of the church at Newport, but resided at Bedford. He was a profound scholar, and upon Mr. Sanderson's mentioning to him the extraordinary talents of his pupil, he at once offered to assist him in the study of the Greek language.

"Living with his brother, and without any other demands upon him, William Bull was now able to devote his whole time to study. He attended Mr. Sanderson's ministry, of which he speaks as exceedingly useful to him. When he first came to Bedford his mind was greatly depressed; 'but it pleased God,' he says 'to bless the ministry of this excellent man, and to make it the means of giving me clearer views of the Gospel, and stronger hopes of my interest in its blessings. I seemed to feel the dawnings of the Sun of Righteousness in my soul. I never before experienced so much pleasure or benefit from hearing; and I often thought, if he had been informed of the state of my mind, he could not have expressed my wants and described my various desires before the throne of Almighty grace with greater exactness.'"

was a pædo-baptist when he came to Bedford, he subsequently changed his sentiments. Agreeably, however, to the original constitution of the church, he still continued its minister. But a separation shortly after this, took place from the church, of persons, by whom a chapel was built, and called the New Meeting.

The New Meeting is now called Howard Chapel (after John Howard the philanthropist).

Mr. Symonds and the celebrated John Howard were very great friends, and were in the habit of writing to each other. The following letters transcribed from the originals by "J. B. W." of Shrewsbury, and published in the "Evangelical Magazine," for 1816, not only pleasingly characterize the renowned writer as a disciple of the glorious Saviour, but also show that he, notwithstanding all his great labours of love upon the continent, all his grand philanthropic undertakings, did not forget Bedford and his Bedford friends, but found time to write to them and inform them of some of his movements :

[No. 1.]

Abbeville, Jan. 4, 1770.

"Dear Sir,—Having an opportunity, by an Italian gentleman with whom I have travelled, I thought a few lines would not be unacceptable.

"Mr. Bull's opinions were decidedly Calvinistic. He had imbibed them, as he used to say, from his infancy, and was confirmed in them by his beloved friend Mr. Sanderson."

"When my grandfather entered the preaching class he at once became very popular. Mr. Palmer, who left the academy [at Daventry] a little time before him, says in a letter written about this time,—'Your preaching was highly acceptable at Bedford, and Mr. Sanderson told me he hoped you would shortly be his assistant.'"

"The letters of Mr. Sanderson, written to Mr. Bull while a student at Daventry, abundantly prove the great esteem and affection in which he held him. He repeatedly urges him to exercise prudence and caution in his studies, especially after the severe illness of which mention has been made."

Mr. Bull "was ordained 11th October, 1764. Some few days before his ordination Mr. Sanderson sent him the following letter, showing his zealous concern that his orthodoxy might not be questioned :—

DEAR SIR,—I cannot, without great inconvenience, be at Newport before Thursday morning; and as I find that you have ordered matters so that I am neither to see you, nor your confession of faith before it is delivered, you will give me leave to tell you, out of friendship, that as you profess yourself to be a Calvinist in regard to the great doctrinal points of Christianity, you will very much disappoint me, and I daresay, disgust many of your real friends, if you don't express yourself explicitly and clearly in your confession. It is my most hearty desire, and shall be my prayer to God, that you, and all who are to engage in the solemn work of next Thursday, may acquit themselves well, and that it may be a good day to both ministers and people.—I am, dear Sir, your very faithful affec. friend and brother,

'SAMUEL SANDERSON.'

'Bedford, Oct. 6, 1764.'

After I landed in France, my first object was Geneva, where I spent some time before I went into Italy. The luxury and wickedness of the inhabitants would ever give a thinking mind pain, amidst the richest country, abounding with the noblest productions of human power and skill. I was seven days recrossing the Alps. The weather was very cold: the thermometer 11 degrees below freezing point. The quick descent by sledges on the snow, and other particulars, may perhaps afford a little entertainment some winter's evening. I returned to Geneva. There are some exemplary persons; yet the principles of one of the vilest men (Voltaire), with the corruptions of the French, who are within one mile of the city, has greatly debased its ancient purity and splendor. I spent about ten days at the dirty city of Paris. The streets are so narrow, and no footpaths, that there is no stirring out but in a coach: and as to their hackney-coaches, they are abominable: there were but few English at Paris. I dined with about twenty at our ambassador's (Lord Harcourt). I am now on my route to Holland, a favourite country of mine; the only one, except our own, where propriety and elegance are mixed. Above all I esteem it for religious liberty.

"Thus, dear Sir, I am travelling from one country to another; and I trust, with some good hope, through abundant grace, to a yet better. My knowledge of human nature should be enlarged by seeing more of the tempers, tastes, and dispositions of different people; but shudder, my soul, at the glimpse of a thought of its dignity and excellence,—for 'how is the gold become dross!'

"I bless God I am well. I have a calm and easy flow of spirits. I am preserved and supported through not a little fatigue. My thoughts are often with you on the Sabbath-day. I always loved my Cardington and Bedford friends; but I think distance makes me love them more. But I must conclude with my affectionate remembrance of them; and my ardent wish, desire, and prayer for your success in promoting the honour of God, and the love of our divine Redeemer.

"I am truly, your affectionate friend, &c., JOHN HOWARD."

[No. 2.

"Rome, May 22, 1770.

"Dear Sir,—With great pleasure I received your obliging letter as I passed through Flanders. The esteem, yourself and some of my friends have for me, humbles me to think what I ought to be. But, how mean and defective! yet, amidst all, a sincere love I hope I have to all who bear the impress of our divine Master.

"Since I left Holland, and through all the southern part of France, and over the Appenine mountains into Italy, I travelled not a mile with any of our countrymen. Those mountains you are three or four

days in passing : for many, many miles, there is hardly a three foot road, with precipices into the sea, I should guess, three times the height of St. Paul's ; but the mules are so sure-footed there is nothing to fear, though the road is also very bad. Through the mercy and goodness of God I travel pleasantly on. I have an easy calm flow of spirits. A little tea equipage I carry with me, with which I regale ; and little regard if I have nothing else.

" Florence being the seat of the Arts, I visited the famous gallery many days, from whence I travelled to this renowned city. The amazing ruins of temples, palaces, aqueducts, &c., gives one some faint idea of its ancient grandeur ; but comparatively now a desert. The description of them, as also of St. Peter's church and the Vatican, I must defer till I have the pleasure of seeing you. The Pope passed very close by me yesterday ; he waved his hand to bless me. I bowed ; but not kneeling, some of the cardinals were displeased. But I never can nor will to any human creature or invention, as I should tremble at the thought of the adoration I have seen to him and the wafer. My temper is too open for this country, yet an important piece of news of this court (expulsion of the Jesuits) that I now know I durst not commit to writing. That cruelist of all inventions, the Inquisition, stops all mouths.

" I set out to-morrow for Naples. As I return to see the great procession on the 15th of June, I intend staying about a fortnight. Afterwards I am bound for Loretto, Ancona, Bologna, and Venice ; at which last place it will be a great pleasure to receive a line from you. My thoughts are often with my Bedford friends. I beg to be remembered to Mrs. Symonds, Mess. Neguses, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Odell, Mr. Wiltshire ; and as they know it is the divine presence and favour that makes every place happy and comfortable, my most grateful acknowledgements for any interest I have had in their sacred moments.

" Thus, my dear friend, am I travelling over desolate places of ancient grandeur, and felt it to overpower that selfish and vain principle that is rooted in my constitution, and humble the pride of one's heart ! And when at other times I view in statues, paintings, architecture, &c., the utmost stretch of human skill, how should one's thoughts be raised to that glorious world, that heavenly city, the city of the living God,—where sin, sorrow, and every imperfection will be done away ! Oh, the free, sovereign, unbounded grace of our Lord Jesus Christ ! how thankful should we Protestants be for this glorious gospel which we have in our hands. The happiness we are exulting in, millions in this country are denied. But I must conclude, that I remain with much esteem.

" Dear Sir, yours, &c.,
" J. HOWARD."

[No. 8.]

"Bonn, June 20, 1775.

"Dear Sir,—I flatter myself a line will not be unacceptable. As one's spirits are tired with the same subject, it is a relaxation and pleasure to write to a friend ; which indeed is my case at present, being just come from the prisons in this place. I had visited many in France, Flanders, and Holland ; but I thought I might gain some knowledge by looking into the German police. I have carefully visited some Prussian, Austrian, Hessian, and many other gaols. With the utmost difficulty did I get access to many dismal abodes ; and, through the good hand of God, I have been preserved in health and safety. I hope I have gained some knowledge, that may be improved to some valuable purpose. Though conscious of the utmost weakness, imperfection, and folly, I would hope my heart deceives me not, when I say to my friend, I trust that I intend well. The great example,—the glorious and divine Saviour ;—the first thought humbles, abases,—yet blessed be God it exults and rejoices in that infinite and boundless source of love and mercy.

"The state of the weather makes travelling not a little fatiguing. I have the pleasure of now coming homeward. There are many travellers at the first, or great houses ; but these three or four weeks I have not met one Englishman. We are here surrounded with vineyards, so I must not say it is hot ; yet I cannot help wishing for my refreshing Bath.

"I have spent some Sundays with the French Protestants. I love and esteem them. Though separated, yet truly united. I trust and hope we shall all make one great and glorious body. In which wish,

"I truly remain, &c., JOHN HOWARD."

"P.S.—Mr. Castleman, Mr. Freelove, &c., with gratitude. I think of their late instance of affection ; and with pleasure on some sacred moments. Adieu ! I pray God bless you, and may many be your joy and crown of rejoicing, in that great and glorious day."

In 1770, the late Samuel Whitbread, Esq., M.P., presented to the congregation two handsome chandeliers and six score guineas and a half towards the restoration of the chapel ; and the warm and Christian-hearted John Howard, Esq., who was formerly a member of the church, a new pulpit* and seventy pounds : and the people raised one hundred and seventy-seven pounds. The whole expense of new flooring the chapel, supplying it with a new window, &c., was £373 18s. 2d. On the 23rd of November, 1788, Mr. Symonds was summoned out of time

* This pulpit is now used in the chapel at Goldington, a village about a mile and a half from Bedford.

into eternity : the church then consisted of one hundred and twenty-seven members, the same number as when he came, one hundred and twenty-two had been added during his pastorate, and one hundred and twenty-two had been removed either by death or in other ways.

For some years towards the end of his life, Mr. Symonds suffered much from bodily disease. He was laid aside from preaching, through asthma and dropsy, several months before his death ; which occurred on the 23rd of November, 1788, just a few months more than a hundred years after the death of Bunyan, and when he himself had been at Bedford rather longer than twenty-three years.

Mrs. Wilberforce, aunt to the celebrated statesman and philanthropist, and sister to the benevolent John Thornton, in a brief and touching letter, which she wrote on her dying bed to the Rev. William Bull, of Newport Pagnel, in November, 1788, referring to the removal of the Rev. Mr. Symonds, of Bedford, who was much respected by her, says, "Happy is the dear man who has gone to glory ; now in the presence of Jesus, whom unseen he loved. My heart seemed to jump for joy. Things have an awful appearance, and such as you can ill be spared. Myself better and worse—Jesus as good as ever."

The mural tablet to his memory, bears the following inscription :—

REV. JOSHUA SYMONDS, A.M.,
DEPARTED THIS LIFE,
AND ENTERED INTO THE JOY OF HIS LORD,
NOV. 23, 1788.
AGED 79 YEARS.

Far from affliction toil and care,
The happy soul is fled ;
The breathless clay shall slumber here,
Amongst the silent dead.

The gospel was his joy and song,
Ev'n to his latest breath ;
The truths he had mentioned so long
Were his support in death.

From a brief history of the church by the late Rev. John Jukes, in which there are several quotations from the church records, we learn that "After the death of Mr. Symonds, the church was much divided in consequence of having been supplied by several ministers—two of whom were baptists, and one a pædo-baptist. It was, however, at length agreed to give up all these ministers, and to look out for another in whom it might be hoped all parties would unite. At the recommendation of the Rev. William Bull, (who in addition to his pastoral duties at Newport, had the training of candidates for the ministry), Mr. Samuel Hillyard, one of the students, now came at two different

times to preach here. After this, at about Christmas, 1790, he was invited by the people to occupy the pulpit for six Sabbaths in succession. He did it; and was then requested to continue his services for three months longer. To this also he consented; and on the 6th of April, 1791, a church meeting was called to ascertain the mind of the brethren as to the desirableness of his being permanently settled amongst them. There appeared a strong feeling in favour of this; but there was also a unanimous wish that it should be still further postponed. They, therefore, all agreed to invite him for one year from the 30th of that month, with the understanding that if the church during that time should be sufficiently composed and quieted from its present disturbances, he should, at the close of it, be asked to assume the pastoral office. They also further resolved that no unsettled minister should be invited to preach until the church had finally determined respecting him, or he had given his final answer to their proposals. This request he likewise complied with. When the year drew near its close, the question as to Mr. Hillyard's settlement was again agitated. Of the male members of the church, by whom alone it was to be decided, there appear to have been about twenty for, and fourteen against it. In consequence of the decision of the majority, the church opened a correspondence with Mr. Hillyard, who accepted their call, 'after much and earnest prayer for divine direction and guidance, and consulting with neighbouring and experienced ministers, especially with his tutor, the Rev. William Bull, of Newport; his father, the Rev. T. Hillyard, of Olney; and his friend, the Rev. John Carver, of Wellingborough.'

"When this was formally announced, at a church meeting on the 3rd of May, 1792, one of the minority informed the church of an intended separation. A letter was immediately addressed to them requesting their peaceable continuance. But it had not the effect desired. They still stood aloof, and in the spring of the next year, twenty-three persons united as a church upon the principle of strict communion;—that church still exists, and has of late much increased in numbers.

"The ordination of Mr. Hillyard took place on the 12th of the month succeeding that in which he had accepted the pastoral office. The service commenced with singing, the opening prayer was offered by the Rev. Thomas Smith, the Rev. James Carver delivered the introductory address, and proposed the usual questions, the Rev. T. Hillyard prayed the ordination prayer, the Rev. William Bull delivered the charge to the pastor, and the Rev. John Ryland addressed the church. The Rev. Mr. Perry preached in the evening.

"The subsequent course of Mr. Hillyard was such as not only to equal but exceed the most sanguine expectations of his warmest friends. During the first six months of his ministry twenty-one members were added to the church, and its discipline was maintained in regard to

those who had separated from it, in a way which would have done honour to any man, however mature his understanding, or great his experience in such matters might have been. It soon became apparent that the young minister was exactly the man for his place and his times. His amiable disposition, conciliatory manners, evangelical, earnest and pathetic preaching, soon began to tell upon the town and neighbourhood. So benign and cheerful was his countenance—so deep the current, so full, and free, and warm the flow of his feelings; so mellifluous and manageable the tones of his voice; so natural and impressive his elocution; and so scriptural his modes of thought and expression, that it is easy to believe the accounts, which are still occasionally given, of the thrilling effect of some of his pulpit appeals—especially when we remember how much there was in his private intercourse with his people to prepare them to appreciate his public instructions.

“He had no sooner become known than his services were sought, and generally obtained, on almost every extraordinary occasion which occurred in connection with any of the dissenting communities, for many miles round. The temper of his mind was so even, and the texture of his body so firm, that he seemed capable of taking almost any amount of such extra labour without either exhausting his spirits or endangering his health. What would have been the cause of painful and perilous solicitude, to many, appeared to produce only a pleasing and healthful excitement in him. And, therefore, as he had a sense of duty constantly upon his mind, he was always ready to every good work. He could say as one did, far greater than himself, though of course in a proportionably humbler sense, ‘It is my meat and drink to do the will of him that sent me.’ His public life was a practical exemplification of the true spirit of Christianity as proclaimed in the song which angels sung in honour of the Saviour’s birth. The ministry he exercised, and the measures he pursued from the time when he entered upon his office here, were felt as a living and unceasing utterance of their memorable words—‘Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good will towards men.’”

“The times in which my honoured predecessor lived,” continues Mr. Jukes, “were perhaps of all others the most congenial with his spirit. No one could be long in his company and not discover that a love of liberal enterprise and lofty daring was one of the predominant feelings in his mind—one of the distinctive features of his character. And there had perhaps never been, before, a combination of circumstances so fitted to give this ardent spirit scope, of that which was formed as the last century drew near its close. At his first settlement Mr. Hillyard had no idea of being useful in his calling beyond the towns and villages of his own locality. Accordingly he concentrated his efforts upon them. But a wider sphere

of usefulness was soon opened to his view. The missionary spirit now came forth, but like that kingdom whose claims it meant to advocate, almost without observation. To many it was an object of bitter mockery and scornful derision. But they could not check its growth. It became stronger and stronger every day. Those persons by whom it was first imbibed soon found that they had common sympathies, common objects, and common interests. They also, at the same time, discovered that what each one aimed at, could be much more easily, and much more extensively accomplished by a union of them all. Various religious societies were therefore soon instituted. Some, like the Baptist Missionary Society, simply as an organization of the efforts of the members of a particular section of the church; and others, like the British and Foreign Bible Society, for uniting the energies of all the different denominations and bringing them to bear on the general object of Christian philanthropy. No one hailed the formation of these societies with more delight or joined them with greater eagerness than the late Mr. Hillyard. He saw in them a vast and vigorous machinery for doing good to the souls of men, and was thankful to have a hand in working it. This must have been well understood, as he was always one of the first to be asked to assist in conducting the affairs of every institution, intended to embrace different denominations, which was formed either for the town or the county. He held the office of co-secretary to the Bedfordshire Auxiliary Bible Society, with the late Rev. R. P. Beachcroft, rector of Blunham—and that of the Bedfordshire Religious Tract Society with the Rev. Legh Richmond, from their origin. He was a zealous and successful advocate of Missionary Institutions,—one of the founders and chief supporters of the Bedfordshire Union of Christians—a sort of Home Missionary Society for the county—and a devoted friend of Sunday Schools. And while he was chiefly concerned for men's spiritual interests he was by no means indifferent to their temporal circumstances. This is clearly proved by the part he took in the affairs of the Harpur Charity and the County Library, as well as in everything else which he thought likely to affect the civil liberties of his country or his kind.

“The influence of such a man was sure to be increased in proportion as it was employed. This must have been the case even if there had been but little in his own immediate connexions to sustain him. But the fact was quite the reverse. The people over whom he presided became numerous, united, powerful, and active—encouraging his heart and strengthening his hands. Few of them were wealthy, but many of them were pious and laborious. He had the full benefit of their reputation, their prayers, their example, and their efforts. What was the consequence? With regard to himself, there was no man esteemed more highly either in the town or the county, or throughout the whole of the nonconformist body. And with regard to the cause, it attained, under his pastorate, to a degree of prosperity which it had never ap-

proached before. While he was here, five hundred and ninety-four members were added to the church. At his death he left seven men as deacons, who truly were of good report; eight stations for preaching in the villages, supplied, then, almost entirely from this church; four village Sunday schools, in addition to that in the town, and a band of gratuitous teachers sufficient to conduct the whole. During his pastorate the Rev. S. Kilpin, late of Exeter, and the Rev. W. Malden, of Chichester, went out from this church to the ministry. Messrs. T. Hockett and R. Sergeant were encouraged to seek a preparation for the sacred office, but died before they had finished their studies. By the grace of God he was enabled for nearly fifty years to pursue a course in perfect harmony with that of the great men by whom he was preceded and with whom he is doubtless associated, and it was found equally successful. The state of the church, therefore, at his death, is to be regarded as presenting an aggregate of the results not only of his labours, but of all the labour which had been bestowed upon it from its very commencement. One had planted, another had watered, and God now gave an abundant increase."

We learn from Robert Philip, author of "The Life and Times of Whitfield," "The Experimental Guides," &c., in his valuable work entitled, "The Life, Times, and Characteristics of John Bunyan," that "There is one fact in the history of Bunyan's Chapel, which illustrates the progress of public opinion. In 1806, the Magistrates allowed the County Hall to be *licensed* as a place of worship for the Rev. S. Hillyard and his congregation, whilst the chapel was shut up for repairs. Such was the influence of Bunyan's fame; of Howard's and Whitbread's example; and of the character of the pastor and his flock! This fact speaks volumes, as well as redeems the character of Bedford."

The Rev. S. Hillyard himself has thus written:—"When our Meeting-house was lately repaired, we were allowed by the Lord Lieutenant and the Justices, to carry on our public worship, for a quarter of a year in the Town Hall, where, if it had been standing in Mr. Bunyan's time, he must have been tried and committed to jail for preaching."

The following paragraph and letter form the conclusion of the Rev. John Greeves's "Memorials of William Cumberland,"—"The biographer now closes these imperfect Memorials by inserting the following communication from the amiable pastor of the church and congregation assembling at the Old Meeting, Bedford, who, in occupying for nearly half a century a situation formerly held by the renowned John Bunyan, has constantly exemplified, in at least an equal degree, the piety and the charity which he so justly commends.

To the Rev. J. Greeves.

"My Dear Sir,—As you request a testimony from my pen to the character of your deceased friend, I most readily comply.

"From my knowledge of Mr. William Cumberland for more than forty years, I believe him to have been an ornament to our common faith, and an exemplary member of the Methodist Society; with liberal feelings towards christians of other denominations, and charity towards all men. I wish we had a town full of such professors of religion; I should love and venerate them, to whatever society they belonged.

"His attention to the cases of the afflicted, to whom he was an interpreter, one of a thousand; the fervor of his prayers for them, and his readiness to do them good in every way, and especially in promoting the salvation of their souls whenever he could have access to them, rendered him eminent amongst the most useful followers of Him 'who went about doing good.' I saw him in his last sickness, and his faith and fervor, love and kindness, were correspondent to the tenor of his life.

"I am glad you think of publishing some memorial of him, and hope it will be blessed in exciting many to follow his example, as that of one who through faith and patience is now inheriting the promises.

"I am, with sincere respect, your brother in the bonds of the Gospel,

"SAMUEL HILLYARD."

"Harpur Street, December 21."

Mr. Hillyard died on the 4th of March, 1839. On the north side of the monument erected to his memory, in the burial-ground of Bunyan Meeting is the following inscription:—

"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth: yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them."—Rev. xvii, 13.

"IN MEMORY OF
THE REV. SAMUEL HILLYARD,
XLVIII YEARS PASTOR OF THE CHURCH ASSEMBLING
IN THE ADJOINING PLACE.
BORN NOVEMBER XI, MDCCLXX,
ORDAINED JUNE XII, MDCCXII,
DIED MARCH IV, MDCCCXXXIX.

*He was a faithful and affectionate Pastor, a zealous and laborious preacher; consistent, upright, and universally respected.
This monument is erected by his congregation as a record of his private and public worth."*

At a special meeting of the church, held on Thursday, December 5th, 1839, it was proposed and seconded, that the Rev. John Jukes, who was then labouring at Yeovil, should be invited to the pastoral office of this church and congregation. It was then requested that those of the members who approved of the motion should raise the hand, when there

was a unanimous show of hands, and not one opposed it. Mr. Jukes whilst preaching one of his last sermons in the Old Meeting, previous to its being pulled down, said:—"An invitation thus unanimous and cordial, obtained by a process, originated and carried on quite independently of my own solicitations, I did not feel at liberty to decline: notwithstanding the scene of action to which it called me, presented so much to task the prudence, the courage, and the constancy, as well as to try the intellectual, moral, and physical strength."

In the year 1849, it was found necessary for the comfort and accommodation of the congregation to pull down the chapel, and to build a fresh one.

The *present edifice* known as Bunyan Meeting was built upon the same site, at a cost of £4 500, and was first opened for Divine worship, on Wednesday, February 20th, 1850.

A large number of persons from different parts of the county, arrived in the town in the morning; and the London train brought a considerable addition to the concourse assembled at the meeting. The first stone of the new building was laid on the second day of May, 1849, and the works were completed at the commencement of the following February. The building which had just been taken down, was, by many persons, supposed to have been the Meeting in which the great John Bunyan ministered so zealously but such was not the fact. He died in 1688, and the building was not erected until 1707. It was, however, upon this site that Bunyan preached, as we find from an interesting and valuable little book written by the Rev. J. Jukes, wherein is given the history of Bunyan's church. The author says:—"The first allusion we have in our records to a Meeting-house, occurs in the minutes of a church-meeting held in 1660, on the occasion when Mr. Burton's death was announced. It is embodied as a wish thus expressed "We desire that our brother Harrington, brother Coventon, and brother John Fenn do take care to inform themselves of a convenient place for our meeting, as soon as they can—we being now deprived of our former place—and report to the church." It would appear from circumstances already mentioned that the only place they could find, was the house of John Fenn. We accordingly hear of no other place until we are informed of the purchase of Ruffhead's premises. This appears to have served the purpose of Bunyan, during his time, as nothing is said about its having been enlarged and altered. We are told that the late Meeting-house was built in May and June, 1707, by subscription, at a cost of about £400, and that in the years 1769 and 1770 it was new floored, supplied with new windows, a new vestry, a new pulpit and chandeliers, towards which Samuel Whitbread, Esq., gave the chandeliers and six score guineas and a half; John Howard, Esq., seventy pounds; and the people raised by subscription, a

hundred and seventy-seven pounds; and that the whole expense was three hundred and seventy-three pounds, twelve shillings, and threepence. And in 1843, a meeting of the trustees was called to consider the propriety of doing something more to it; but the majority refused either to give or collect anything for such a purpose, from the conviction that the time was very near when it would be absolutely necessary to rebuild." And that the time had arrived when it was necessary to rebuild, there could be no doubt, for the greater portion of the timbers were in an extremely decayed state; and the building altogether was quite inadequate to afford accommodation for the large congregation. It was indeed prejudicial to the health and comfort of the hearers as well as of the minister. As soon as it was determined to erect a new building the congregation came forward in the most liberal manner, and in a short time more than £2,000 was subscribed; and the greatest interest was taken in the work. The style adopted is that in use immediately after the time of Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren, of which there are but few good examples in the country, and those generally by Gibbs, the celebrated architect of St. Martin's church. The material of the base, which shows about four feet above ground, is hammer-dressed limestone from a neighbouring quarry, capped with Yorkshire plinth, giving a bold footing to the pilasters. The superstructure is of red brick with stone dressings; the two side elevations are each divided into six compartments by pilasters, with stone mounted bases, and capitals surmounted by a stone architrave and modillion cornice. Each of the compartments contain a lower and upper window—the lower with segmental and the upper with circular head,—having bold stone quoins and projecting keystones. The front is elevated on a basement of three steps, extending the whole width of the building, but divided by massive blocks to receive the pilasters which are uniform with those on the side elevations. In the centre compartment is the principal entrance, with semicircular head in rusticated masonry. In the other two compartments are the approaches to the stone staircases leading to the galleries. The architrave corresponds with the side elevations, and is surmounted by a bold pediment. The outer dimensions of the building are 80ft. by 50ft., and the height 32ft. from floor to cornice. The ceiling is paneled, and the centre division is coved, to give an additional height of 7ft. The whole of the building is erected of the very best material, and the works have the appearance of a stability quite unprecedented among modern erections in Bedford. The architects were Messrs. Wing and Jackson, and the builders Messrs. Berrill, Maxey, and Ward, all of Bedford.

The morning service commenced at eleven o'clock, and the chapel was crowded in every part. The Rev. J. Jukes, minister of the place, read a portion of scripture and offered an impressive prayer. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Harris, from Luke vii, 19-25. The preacher ably illustrated his subject, and dwelt upon the fact that

the life of our Lord on earth was chiefly devoted to deeds of mercy ; wonderful as some of his miracles were, they all tended to the same point, that of alleviating the sufferings or enlightening the moral darkness of humanity. The reverend doctor then in an eloquent manner applied the principles inculcated in the text, to the circumstances which had assembled so large a congregation on that occasion.

A residence has been erected, by the church, in Dame Alice street, for the pastor. The house in which Mr. Hillyard lived,* was situated in Angel street (now called Harpur street); but that has since been pulled down, and its site is now enclosed with the grounds belonging to the Harpur Schools.

On the 3rd of October, 1854, the Rev. Joseph James Insull, formerly of Cheshunt College, was ordained co-pastor of this church. From the time of his admission until his death he served the Lord his God, in union with that people among whom he had been called to labour. His death took place on the 13th of August, 1863. The following extract from the "Bedford Mercury," of August 15, 1863, will show to the reader how Mr. Insull was valued and esteemed :

"In this week's obituary we announce the death of the Rev J. J. Insull, and we venture to say that it is a long time since we were called upon to record an event more mournful to a large section of our readers. A long illness, relieved as it was by a partial and temporary convalescence, had failed to prepare the public mind for the extinction of a life so lately beaming with the fairest hopes and so earnestly pledged to the highest work on earth. To the family the final stroke was a sad surprise ; and yet it was better known to that small circle than to the outside world or even to the anxious and sorrowing congregation at Bunyan Meeting how seriously disease had ravaged his physical powers. All, however, feel as if this were a sudden calamity—and not a few will acknowledge that it is grievous to the locality at large. How, then, can we fitly write of one who has passed swiftly from our midst—and, withal, fitly of one whose removal leaves so large a void. It seems but yesterday to most of us—although it is a period of more than eight real hardworking years—that Mr. Insull came to be the fellow-labourer of the senior pastor of Bunyan Meeting ; and he came with an energy which a true heart and a cultivated mind bade fair to make of steady continuance for years to come. Though presenting in his person some signs of a delicate constitution, no one who heard him speak or watched his active movements for the good of others could long remain under the impression that he was even physically weak. Blameless in repute, diligent in his calling, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord, a helper of every good work ; a friend, a counsellor, a model for the young, easily aroused in the deeper sympathies of his nature by the ignorance or penury or sufferings of his fellow-men, and prompt to seek and resolute in applying the best remedies within reach ; furnished and willing for every righteous and kindly service, he has been lifted up out of our sight—within the veil—to the service of the upper temple and the higher altar : to rest—but only to rest from pain ; for his was a soul that found true rest in noble toil. Men cannot but deplore the loss of such a man. We reckon up our jewels with loving interest when we know that they are hidden from our eyes ; and the accents of praise which would have been unseemly in life will well accord with the tones of affectionate lamenting. Of the more sacred griefs, born in the hour of gloom, we refrain from speaking ; but we may condole with the congregation at Bunyan Meeting, and we may offer in the name of the public, as we now do,

* The minister's house in Angel street was originally the residence of the Rev. S. Sanderson, and was bought by subscription in 1767, and put in trust for the use of the ministers succeeding, so that Mr. Symonds was the first occupant *after the purchase*.

a tribute of sympathy to the surviving minister, and thus mark the close of a pastorate of rare pleasantness in all its relations, while uttering a public eulogium on one who was too worthy of our praise and too well loved by all who knew him to be allowed to pass away unnoticed and unmourned."

He was "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." His life was indeed a practical commentary on the glorious truths which he taught; he read and studied, preached and prayed, thought and acted, lived and died for the glory of God and the benefit of mankind.

Early in May, 1864, a monument was erected in the Bedford Cemetery, to his memory: it bears the following inscription:

"IN AFFECTIONATE REMEMBRANCE OF THE REV. JOSEPH J. INSULL, FOR NINE YEARS THE JUNIOR PASTOR OF BUNYAN MEETING. BORN, FEBRUARY 1ST, 1828; DIED, AUGUST 13TH, 1863; AN EXEMPLARY CHRISTIAN, A DEVOTED PASTOR, AN EARNEST PREACHER, AND A FAITHFUL FRIEND; HIS CONGREGATION DEEPLY LAMENTING HIS LOSS, HAVE ERECTED THIS STONE AS A MEMENTO OF ESTEEM FOR HIS CHARACTER, AND OF GRATITUDE TO GOD FOR HIS MINISTRY. 'HE BEING DEAD YET SPEAKETH.'"

The Rev. John Jukes died on Thursday evening, May 22, 1866, aged 67 years. He was upwards of 26 years senior pastor of this church and people. He was buried on the afternoon of the following Tuesday, May 27, 1866.

His monument in the Cemetery bears the following inscription:

"ERECTED BY A GRATEFUL PEOPLE IN AFFECTIONATE REMEMBRANCE OF THE REV. JOHN JUKES, FOR TWENTY-SIX YEARS THE BELOVED MINISTER OF BUNYAN MEETING, BEDFORD, WHO DIED MAY 22ND, 1866, IN THE 67TH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

"He was a devout Christian, a faithful preacher, a watchful pastor, a successful tutor, and a judicious and firm friend; he sustained the relationships of life with exemplary wisdom, gentleness and courtesy; and won universal respect by a spirit at once loving and fearless, his life was beautiful in its consistency, and his end was perfect peace."

The present minister is the Rev. John Brown, B.A., late of Park Chapel, Manchester, who was invited to the pastorate on March 31, 1864,* since which time considerable alterations in the building have taken place, new schools and an organ having been erected, at a cost of about £3,400.

As regards the new schools, these are erected with red bricks and stone and white brick dressings. The front to Castle-end has a very

*The Rev. John Brown, who, like his predecessor, is a Pædo-Baptist, preached his first sermon, as co-pastor of John Bunyan's Church, on Sunday morning, April 24th, taking for his text, II Corinthians iv, 6—"For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake."

imposing appearance, being no less than 90 feet in length. In the apex of the class-rooms gable is a handsome carved shield, with the inscription, "Bunyan Schools, 1866." The basement, which is entered from the level of Castle lane, consists of a large room, 46 feet by 34 feet, and 10 feet high, which, if required, would make an excellent soup kitchen or ragged-school; there are also departments for coal, sundry stores, an excellent kitchen, with two coppers, fire-place, sinks, dressers, and a lift communicating with the floor above; here is also the chamber for the heating apparatus, both of schools and chapel. The next floor is approached by gates at each end of the building—the one at the west side is the minister's entrance, and at the east for the public; this pathway is laid on an incline, to avoid as many steps as possible, which were found to be so very inconvenient, and almost dangerous, at the Castle-rooms. First, we enter a spacious vestibule, with door on the right leading to the chapel. Straight before you is the deacons' vestry and book-room; and on the left, through handsome folding doors, we enter the public room, which is 60 feet by 34 feet; and at the east end is a platform, 7 feet 6 inches wide, extending the whole width of the room, with a sedilia in the Tuscan order, consisting of five arches, resting on ten Mansfield columns, with Bath-stone capitals and bases; the archivolts being in Kean's marble cement. From the platform the room has a very imposing appearance. The roof, which is an open one, is framed as a Queen's-trussed roof, the timber having been selected with great care. The ceiling-line is at the level of the straining beam, and is very well disposed in panels which are filled with Quebec pine, on which are stained decorations of a very new and effective description, rendering the appearance of the roof, on the whole, very beautiful. The room is lighted by ten gas pendants, with star burners; attached to this room is a class-room, 25 feet by 14 feet, which is used in the week as well as the Sabbath, and adjoining this is a lady's private room and the minister's vestry. There are two flights of stairs to the class-rooms above and to the offices below, each quite distinct, for the use of male and female scholars; there are five spacious class-rooms on the upper floor well ventilated. The whole of the rooms, corridors, and chapel have been heated by Perkins' high pressure hot water apparatus. The works have been executed in a satisfactory manner by Messrs. Dickens, Maxey, Cunvin, Carling, Kilpin, and Jarvis, under the superintendence and from designs of Mr. J. Usher, architect and surveyor. The recess for the organ is elliptic in form, with a coved ceiling, finishing perfectly level with the ceiling of the chapel, all angles being avoided, in order to admit of uninterrupted flow of sound; the recess is rendered in Kean's marble cement, being the hardest non-absorbent material, and less likely than any other to deaden the sound or detract from the brilliancy of the tone of the instrument. In order to form this recess great care was required in cutting out two-thirds of the end of the chapel to a certain height in inserting a trussed girder to carry the apex; this girder, together with the longitudinal girders of the chapel, rest on handsome

moulded capitals of stone of the Doric order, with proportionate pilasters, moulded bases, and pedestals, finishing in a line and harmonizing with the front of present galleries; the organ gallery front is of open iron of chaste design. The organ case or screen is remarkably bold, graceful, and appropriate to the building, and is divided into five main compartments, the two outer ones are semi-circular in form, the centre slightly projects, rising to the height of 20 feet, and the space on either side is subdivided into three smaller ones, finishing with circular mouldings, the centre rising higher than the rest, with key stone terminations. The pipes are gilt, and the frame work is of pine, stained and varnished. The formation of the organ chambers reversing the position of the minister's vestry in relation to the old pulpit stairs, and the greatly altered appearance of this entire end of the building, rendered it imperative, as regards the comfort of the minister and the general appearance of the whole, to have a new pulpit—It is considered to be one of the most handsome structures of this character in the town. The whole of this work, including the organ case was carried out from designs under the superintence of Mr. John Usher, architect, of this town.

The opening of the organ took place on Monday evening, March 11, 1867, when a lecture was delivered by the Rev. H. Allon, of Islington, on "Church Song in its relation to Church life." The organ, made by Messrs. Foster and Andrews, of Hull, at a cost of £425, is certainly a noble and superior-toned instrument. It has a double range of keys with 26 stops, so that the swell power can be made immense.

Having now concluded our somewhat lengthy sketch of what is certainly one of the most important places (at all events as far as historical interest is concerned); we continue our course to the end of Mill-street, where stands

St. Cuthbert's Church.

This church was so called in honour of St. Cuthbert of Durham, one of the three great saints of England in the middle ages.* He was born about 635. Neither his parentage nor his birth-place has been ascertained, but a legend, which was long generally believed, told that he was born in Ireland, and drew his lineage from one of the petty kings of that country. It appears that St. Cuthbert in the days of youth, was a shepherd boy in the kingdom of Northumbria, which then stretched northwards to the Forth, and it has been recorded that as he was watching his flock one night on the heights of Lauderdale, he fancied that he saw the heavens open, and a company of angels came down to the earth, and, taking the soul of St. Aidan, the pious bishop

* The other two were St. Edmund, of Edmundsbury, and St. Thomas-a-Becket, of Canterbury.

of Lindisfarne, carried it up into heaven. This occurred in the year 651. He thought again and again of the vision, and finally resolved to become a monk. During the same year he entered the famous monastery of Melrose. In the course of a few years St. Eata, the Abbot of Melrose, removed to the then recently-erected monastery of Ripon, being accompanied by St. Cuthbert, who was appointed to the office of Superintendent of Guests. In 661 the Provost or Prior of Melrose, St. Bois, died of the plague, which was at that time ravaging the United Kingdom, and was succeeded by St. Cuthbert, who distinguished himself by his persevering labours, both by his teaching and example, to reclaim them from the superstitious or pagan rites into which they had fallen. A few years afterwards he left Melrose for the island monastery of Lindisfarne, of which he was chosen provost or prior, St. Eata, his old master, being abbot. In 676, as he longed for a more austere life even than the monastic, he left Lindisfarne, and became a hermit in a hut which he built with his own hands on Farne Island, where he was afterwards visited, at the request of the synod of Turyford, by Egfrid, king of Northumbria, Trumwine, ex-bishop of the Picts, and some other great men from the north, and entreated by them to accept the bishopric of Hexham. After much hesitation he complied with their request, but he afterwards exchanged the see of Hexham for that of Lindisfarne. Such, however, was his thirst after solitude that at the end of two years he resigned his bishopric, and returned to his hut in Farne Island, where he died in March, 687. The anniversary of his death was a great festival in the Church of England, which commemorated also the 4th of September, as the anniversary of the day on which his body was translated to Durham. It is to his fervent piety and extraordinary asceticism that the influence which St. Cuthbert exercised upon his age may be ascribed. The asceticism which distinguished St. Cuthbert during his life long lingered round his shrine. No woman, until the Reformation, was allowed to approach his tomb, and the cross of blue marble is still to be seen in the cathedral floor, which marked the limits beyond which female footsteps were not allowed to pass, under pain of instant and signal punishment from the offended saint. Many believed that his wrath was equally prompt to avenge every injury to the honour or possessions of his church. William the Conqueror, it is said, having a great desire to see the incorrupt body of the saint, ordered the shrine to be opened; but scarcely had a stroke been struck when the king was seized with such sickness and terror that he rushed from the cathedral, and, mounting his horse, never drew bridle until he had crossed the Tees. An anecdote is told about the cloth which was supposed to have been used by St. Cuthbert in celebrating mass. It has been stated that this cloth was made into a standard, which was believed to insure victory to the army in whose ranks it was carried. Amongst the many fields in which the defeat of the Scots was attributed to the banner of St. Cuthbert may be mentioned Flodden Field. Until the Reformation it hung beside his shrine, when it is said to have been

committed to the flames by Calvin's sister, wife of the first Protestant dean of the Cathedral. 'Tis true that the fame of St. Cuthbert was very great during his lifetime, but it became far greater after his death, for churches were dedicated to him throughout the wide country between the Trent and Mersey on the south, and the Forth and Clyde on the north.

Amongst other churches dedicated to this illustrious saint in England was the Church of St. Cuthbert, Bedford, said to have been originally founded by king Offa, A.D. 772. The former building, according to Parry, was a small and mean structure, having a low nave and chancel under one roof, tiled, and a wooden turret in the centre, with a clock and bell; its interior was extremely humble, and contained nothing remarkable except the remains of a Saxon font. The present edifice which is a very good specimen of the Anglo-Norman and Latin crucifix styles of Architecture, with open seats, was erected during the incumbency of the venerable Archdeacon Tattam, on the site of the above-mentioned very ancient fabric, and consecrated on the 8th of July, 1847, by the Bishop of Ely. "The new miniature cathedral of St. Cuthbert is well enough, or grand enough, in itself, with two exceptions; 1st, the common house-slates on a "Norman" building; if lead could not be afforded, it should have been slab-slate (such as may be seen at *Caernavon*), as used at *Camberwell New Church*—or at least green Westmoreland; and 2nd, an immense tower, large enough for ten bells, containing one small one. This, as at the church at *Notting Hill* is a "hollow mockery," and, if nothing more was intended, a little turret or bell-gable would have been a great deal more suitable. The former miserable building, which had an aisle and chancel under one roof, tiled and broken in outline, and a cupola, with latterly a still worse substitute, in the centre, appears of the same form in *Speed's* plan (1610) of the town,—in which also the town appears to have been quite as large as it was 30 years ago."—*Pary, in Gent's Magazine*. It cost 2,000 guineas, the greater part of which was liberally contributed by the owners of property and parishioners, assisted by contributions from the town and neighbourhood. The communion-plate was given by the late Thomas Wooldridge, Esq.; and the organ, the books for the reading desk and communion service, as well as the painted window, were presented by gentlemen living in the neighbourhood. This structure was designed with the view to accommodate about 300 persons, including 189 free seats. The size of the church was considered at the time quite sufficient for the wants of the parish, allowing for an increase, which it would seem was computed upon the basis of its previous rate of growth. The parish of St. Cuthbert has an area of 288 acres, and when the present church was erected, there were only 157 inhabited houses, almost wholly standing upon ancient foundations, the population consisting of 591 persons; circumstances, however, which at that time were unforeseen, have led to an unexpected and rapid increase in

the population. The sale of land affording advantageous building sites occasioned the erection of several new streets, which contain nearly 100 additional houses; and the population may now be fairly estimated at about 1,000 persons. The seat room in this church having become therefore altogether inadequate to meet the requirements of the parishioners, and because of a similar want of church accommodation which existed in all the neighbouring parishes of the town, and which prevented the surplus of this parish from obtaining seats in any of the churches contiguous, it became necessary to take immediate steps towards the enlargement of St. Cuthbert's Church. In order that this object might be carried out in such a manner as should be most effective, and at the same time least interfere with the proportions of the present edifice, with a view of course to save the expense, a survey was made by Mr. Penrose, the surveyor of St. Paul's Cathedral, and plans were drawn up by that gentleman. He estimated that at a cost of £1350, additional seats for 232 persons could be provided, of which number 100 might be set apart as free.

In consequence of the original outlay having been partly provided by a charge upon the rates, and as a portion of the loan remained unliquidated, it was not thought advisable to raise any part of the funds thus required by similar powers, but an appeal was made by the highly-esteemed and universally-respected rector to the liberality of the public to assist him and his parishioners in their endeavours to meet adequately their pressing need for greatly increased church accommodation. Amongst other contributions which were received at the Bedford Bank, at the London and County Bank, and by the Rev. Charles Trollope, the rector, were the following :—From His Grace the Duke of Bedford, £100; Rev. S. R. Waller, M.A., £50; T. W. Turnley, Esq., 25 guineas; Mrs. Turnley, 25 guineas; S. Wing, Esq., J.P., £25; Mr. G. Higgins, £25; Mr. Rogers, £25; Mr. C. Higgins, £20; Rev. C. Trollope, £50; Collected by Rev. S. R. Waller, £12 19s.; Venerable Archdeacon Tattam, D.D., £10; Mr. W. Gibbs, £10; Mr. Baxter, £10; and Mr. H. Wells, £10.

A new organ was afterwards erected in this church and opened on Sunday, October 22, 1865, when two excellent and appropriate sermons were preached by the Rev. C. Trollope, the rector, after each of which collections were made on behalf of the Bedford Infirmary, there being a sufficient fund in hand to pay for the instrument and to meet all expenses incurred in the erection of the same. Mr. Rose presided at the organ, which is a remarkably sweet-toned one (the soft stops being most delicately voiced) and also of considerable power for an instrument of its size, and altogether reflects great credit on the builders, Messrs. Hadfield and Earee, of Hackney-road, London (successors to the late Mr. Eagles, who it will be remembered built the fine organ in St. Peter's church).

A die for a tradesman's token, found in St. Cuthbert's, Bedford, was exhibited by Dr. Tattam, the Ven. the Archdeacon of Bedford, Vice-President at the annual meeting of the Bedfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society, held at the General Library, Bedford, June 21, 1849.

Continuing our course to the top of St. Cuthbert's-street, we obtain a view on our right of

The House of Industry,

a very large and neat brick building, which from this point has somewhat of the appearance of a handsome and extensive mansion. It was about the year 1790, that, under a local Act of Parliament, this land was purchased for the erection of a suitable structure; the rest of the ground to be appropriated for the inmates in agriculture and gardening. The building was commenced in 1794, and finished in 1796; it is four stories high, has the extreme wings slightly projecting, and also detached out-buildings on each side of it, right and left. That on the right is a chapel for the attendance of the inmates of the house, and in it divine service is performed by the chaplain every Sunday; the out-building on the left consists of wash-houses, &c. The main building is 136 feet long, and is capable of accommodating about 200 persons. The basement contains a dining room 60ft. by 20ft., separate work rooms for the male and female inmates, in which they follow their respective trades, a school-room for the instruction of those who are too young to work, a committee room, and a room belonging to the master of the workhouse. The building, standing in a fine healthy situation, has been fitted up with every comfort and luxury, that the poor inmates could reasonably desire.

This institution is managed by a Board of Directors, consisting of the Mayor and twelve inhabitants; from these twelve Directors four go out of office every year, and are either re-elected, or have their places filled by fresh Directors, by the rate-payers, on the second Tuesday in May of every year. This committee by an Act of Parliament, 34, Geo. III., manage the expenditure of the borough poor rates.

A few yards on our left, after leaving St. Cuthbert's-street is the chapel and establishment of the Moravians, or society of *Unitas fratrum*.

The Moravian Chapel.

The Society of *Unitas fratrum*, which was called into distinct existence about sixty years before the Reformation, by Martin Luther, revived at the commencement of the last century, after the severity of

persecution had utterly prostrated it, welcomed shortly afterward to England, and recognised by the Bishops of the Church of England, and by an Act of Parliament passed in 1742, as an ancient PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH—has also continued both at home and abroad, to testify for the truth as it is in Jesus, to the salvation of many souls. The United Brethren, better known as Moravians, have had an establishment in Bedford ever since the year 1745. Their labours here, which were commenced at a time when vital religion was at a very low ebb, and faithful and zealous preachers of the word of God were everywhere very scarce, have been abundantly blessed by the Great Head of the Church, and much, very much, has been accomplished by them in this ancient borough and market town, although their ministers, as they do not hold *permanent* appointments, but only for a certain time at the direction of their synod, seldom acquire in Bedford, as in other towns, that influence to which otherwise their respectability and position would entitle them. Like many others, this society at first was composed of only a few persons, but, as it increased in numbers, it became necessary for them to have a place in which they might regularly meet for Divine worship, and such was found in the private dwelling of the late Mrs. Okely, in the High-street.

“The United Brethren were the descendants of John Huss, who suffered at the council of Constance, in 1415. Their congregations spread themselves over Bohemia, Moravia and Poland; they had their church organizations and episcopal constitution half a century before the great Reformation under Martin Luther. Amidst many vicissitudes, sometimes of prosperity, but more frequently of adversity, their congregations increased; but, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, that is, at the end of the year 1700, their number was so far reduced that they were near upon the point of extinction, and the greater portion of those who escaped persecution, emigrated to Saxony and were there hospitably received by Count Zinzendorf. This led to the foundation of a society there, at Herrnhut, in the year 1722, and from that centre, from that small church, deputations were sent out to other countries; in 1728 three of the brethren came over to this country in consequence of an invitation of a personal friend of Count Zinzendorf, who wished to have information concerning this church. It was not until the year 1742, perhaps a little later, that the brethren had any connection with the town of Bedford; it arose out of the activity of Francis Okely and Jacob Rogers, curate of St. Paul's church, in this town, many souls being awakened by them; these gentlemen were awakened by Messrs. De La Motte and Ingham, who received the truth as it is in Jesus, chiefly through the instrumentality of Peter Böhler, minister, and afterwards bishop of the church of the United Brethren. He was led to Oxford at the time the two Wesleys were there filled with a common anxious desire for the salvation of their souls, seeking rest and finding none; to them Böhler discoursed upon the subject nearest his own

heart : "The Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world ; who, in His own body, bare our sins upon the tree ; who, of God, was made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption." Jesus was their all in all. This was then as it is now, and I trust, ever will be, the distinguishing mark of the teaching of the church of the Brethren. The words of Böhler fell upon the minds of those pious, earnest men like falling rain upon the thirsty land, and the rays of the Sun of Righteousness produced in their hearts those fruits of the Spirit, joy and peace in believing. It is very striking, and at the same time very pleasing and encouraging, to trace the spirit that prevailed at that time and the state of society in this happy country at the present time. Then, John and Charles Wesley, and the saintly Whitfield, preached the Gospel amid opposition, and were met by every kind of abuse that could be heaped upon them, and the members of the congregation here connected with the Brethren had their share of the same persecution. The spiritual forefathers of the present congregation were not a little maltreated in going to, coming from, and attending their place of worship in the High-street. That time has happily passed away. Now, ministers of religion, by whatever name they are called, receive its ministers, if not with approval, always with deference and respect."—*Rev. W. Mallalieu.*

And it was chiefly at the expense of the above-mentioned Mrs. Okely, and at the expense of the late Mr. Thomas Pearson that the first building was erected in 1751. This chapel was succeeded by a plain-looking building, which was repaired in 1831. Its interior was also plain ; the pulpit was situated in the centre of the side facing the two entrances ; it had a small gallery at each end, that on the left of the minister contained the organ. In this building the seats were all open consisting merely of common forms with back frames ; the males sat on the left, and the females on the right of the minister.

Generally speaking, in Moravian Chapels the seats are all free ; but some years ago it was found desirable, and indeed needful, to pew the galleries of the former Bedford Chapel. The call for more sittings of this description then kept constantly increasing. Besides this, the occasionally overcrowded state of the chapel demanded increased accommodation to secure that amount of comfort in worshipping required by the Apostolic injunction, "Let all things be done decently and in order." It was proposed therefore, in January, 1864, to meet this want by enlarging this sanctuary ; taking care to increase the number of the pews, and still retain the same large space for free seats. It was finally decided that the building should be pulled down, and a more commodious one erected upon its site. The foundation stone of the present building was laid, June 20, 1864, by the Rev. W. Mallalieu, the Rev. J. Lang, and the Rev. J. La Trobe, Bishop, also took part in the ceremony. At five o'clock on the evening of the same day, about 300

persons had tea together at the Assembly Rooms, after which, John Howard, Esq., took the chair, and speeches were delivered by the Rev. J. Lang, the Rev. A. Oates, ministers of the Bedford congregation; the W. Mallalieu, the Rev. B. Trapp, and the Rev. J. La Trobe, Bishop.

Within a zinc box, placed in the cavity made for it in the foundation stone, is a document setting forth the object the Brethren had in view in erecting their new chapel. This document is worded as follows:—

“In the name of the most holy and ever blessed God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, on the twentieth day of June, in the year of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and in the twenty seventh year of the reign of our most gracious Sovereign Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, this foundation stone of the Chapel of the Brethren's congregation at Bedford, belonging to the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Unitas Fratrum, or unity of the brethren, was laid in the presence of the Brethren James La Trobe, Bishop of the Unitas Fratrum and Provincial Elder, William Mallalieu, Presbyter and Provincial Elder, John Lang, Presbyter and Labourer of the Congregation at Bedford, Alfred Oates, Deacon and Assistant Minister in the same congregation, and of several of the Members of the Committee and Council of the said congregation, all of whose names are hereafter given in the presence also of many of the Members of the Bedford Congregation, numbering in all 253, and of many christian friends of the town.

It is the earnest desire of the Bedford congregation, that their new chapel, which is now about to be erected on the site of their former less commodious one, may be none other than the House of God, and the gate of Heaven to many immortal souls. We pray the Triune Jehovah in Jesus' name, to bless this work of our hands—to grant that here the word of the Cross may continue to be preached by faithful Servants of the Brethrens' Church—that all who minister the Word and Sacraments according to the ritual of this Church, may, like St. Paul, “know nothing among men, save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified,” and that they may never shun to declare the whole counsel of God concerning our salvation. Here may thousands of souls be born again through the agency of that word which liveth and abideth for ever, and the power of God's Holy Spirit, without which we can do nothing; here may believers be strengthened in faith and hope and love, and a united flock of Jesus Christ grow up into him in all things, and show forth his praise.

Christ is our Master, Lord and God,
The fulness of the Three in One;
His life, death, righteousness, and blood,
Our faith's foundation are alone,
His Godhead and his death shall be
Our theme to all eternity.

O Lord, “let thy work appear unto thy servants and thy glory unto their children. And let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us: and establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it.”

“Now unto Him that is able to keep us from falling, and to present us faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy, to the only wise God and Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever. Amen.”

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE AND COUNCIL OF THE BEDFORD MORAVIAN CONGREGATION, 1864.

COMMITTEE AND COUNCIL MEMBERS—Francis Trapp, William Kent, Samuel Tassell, Samuel Francis, Thomas Jarvis.



Trinity Church, Bedford.



St. Peter's Church, Bedford.

COUNCIL MEMBERS—George Langley, John Anderson, William Umney, George Payne, William Capon, George Smith, John Gostick.

MEMBERS OF THE PROVINCIAL ELDERS' CONFERENCE, 1864.

Benjamin Seifferth, Episcopus Fratrum and President; James La Trobe, Episcopus Fratrum; William Mallalieu, Presbyter.

MEMBERS OF THE UNITY'S ELDERS' CONFERENCE, 1864.

Christian W. Mathiesen, Episcopus Fratrum and President; Ernst W. Croger, Episcopus Fratrum; Cottfried A. Cunow, Episcopus Fratrum; Ernst F. Reichel, Episcopus Fratrum; Gustav Th. Reichel, Presbyter; Gustav Th. Tietzen, Presbyter and Vice-President; Carl Fr. Schordan, Presbyter; George D. Cranz, Presbyter; Levin Th. Reichel, Presbyter; Johannes Ballein, Deacon; Herman R. Menz, Deacon.

Behind the chapel is the cemetery, containing a memorial of one of their bishops. This burial-ground, which is rather large and nearly in the form of a square, is kept extremely neat, in four compartments. The tombstones are all uniform, small, and flat, and the remains of the male and female members of the connection are deposited separately.

We come now to St. Peter's Green, a beautiful large piece of grass plot, in the form almost of a right-angled triangle, having very fine lime trees planted in regular rows on two of its sides, while on the other side stands the very picturesque and universally admired

Church of St. Peter.

Parry and Matthiason both agree in stating that this church is indebted in a large measure to the late Rev. P. Hunt, L.L.D., rector of this church (who was living in their time), for its very pleasing appearance, which results not so much from its architecture, as from the great attention and expense which were bestowed by him upon both the church and the churchyard.

The churchyard, being planted all over with flowering trees, evergreens, and aromatic shrubs, has very much the appearance of a rustic garden; and it contains several interesting monuments.

The church, which stands back several yards from the green, though certainly inferior in architecture to St. Paul's, is an ancient edifice, and is worthy of notice, particularly as retaining a fine Saxon arch at the south entrance. In the centre, between the church and the chancel, stands a low square tower, the lower part of which is used as part of the church. This tower (which is rather too massive for the size of the building, and was more so before the enlargement of the church in the year 1847), was very much improved by Dr. Hunt, who erected Saxon battlements and a projecting cornice, with a billet moulding, and beneath a row of corbelled or bracket arches, thereby matching the

southern entrance, and giving to the tower a much more elegant and light appearance. It contains five small bells and a clock; one of these bells has the following inscription upon it:—"Hoc signum Petri pulsatur, nomine Christi." On the other is inscribed, "Tu intonas de Cœlis vox Campanæ Michaelis."

The interior of the church is very neat. The windows in the chancel are tastefully decorated with stained glass; the east window contains our Saviour with the crown of thorns, from *Guido*, generally known as the *Ecce Homo*, also St. Peter, The Supper at Emmaus, and The Scourging of Christ. It likewise contains an ancient figure of a Chalice with the Host, taken from the ruins of Radwell Hall. A small lancette window on the north side of the chancel contains, St. Paul; a Portcullis; an Eagle and Child; a Falcon; the Arms of the Isle of Man; and other designs. The chancel contains a mural tablet to the memory of Susanna, the wife of Thomas Knight, who died in the year 1754, with a poetical inscription relating to her beauty and virtues.

This church has an octagonal font of considerable antiquity, in a state of rather good preservation, with a very handsome tracery of two kinds of roses, which represented (as some think) the two Houses of York and Lancaster. There are also roses in lozenges, quatrefoils, and the arms of the Hazeldines of Goldington, a cross fleury.

This edifice was enlarged in 1846, at the cost of £1000; £600 of which sum was raised by subscription, and £500 by a rate. It was again enlarged in 1849, at a further outlay of £700, raised by voluntary subscriptions through the exertion of the rector. In 1853 it was repaired and enlarged with the addition of two aisles, and the nave has been lengthened. The living is a rectory in the gift of the Crown, valued in the Queen's books at £11 13s. 1½d; present income £204.

We now continue our course to the other side of the Green, and turn to the right. The first road on the right is that leading to

The Cemetery.

We would advise the stranger to visit the Cemetery if his time will permit, as from it he may obtain one of the best views of the town and the country adjacent. It is very pleasantly situated at a short distance from the town, on rising ground, known as Foster's Hill, and has been laid out with great taste, under the superintendence of Mr. Jackson, architect and surveyor. It contains about eighteen acres of land and was formed under the power of the following Acts:—15 and 16 Vict. cap. 85, and 16 and 17 Vict. cap. 134. It was opened to the public by the Bishop of the diocese, in the presence of the Clergy, Corporation, Burial Board, and a large number of the inhabitants of Bed-

ford, on Tuesday, the 5th of June, 1855. The entire cost was about £5,500. The Chapels, which stand on the line which divides the consecrated from the unconsecrated part of the ground, are well built of stone, under one roof, in the Gothic style of architecture.

Retracing our steps to Offa street, we turn first to the right and shortly afterwards to the left. Continuing our course down Harpur street, we pass on our right

The Working Men's Institute.

This elegant Gothic structure was erected in the year 1856, at the cost of about £1383. It was opened with a soiree, on Friday evening, October 17, 1856, when the committee entertained their friends and supporters at the Assembly Rooms, in celebration of the completion of the building. The library connected with this institution contains upwards of 2,000 volumes, and is open for exchange and renewal of books every Wednesday evening, between the hours of 8 and 10.

Then taking the first turn on the right, and passing along Dame Alice street we soon reach

The County Prison:

A strong and handsome building surrounded by very lofty brick walls in the form of a square. A gaol built (or rather re-built) in 1801 has been incorporated with it; and a few years ago large additions were made to it for the introduction of the separate system. The prisoners sleep in separate rooms, and the system of solitary confinement is occasionally adopted. It contains seven wards or divisions for the classification of prisoners, with airing yards, in one of which was formerly kept a tread-mill for grinding corn, worked by prisoners sentenced to hard labour. The exterior which possesses a certain dull appearance of confinement with its very secure and formidable looking entrance, cannot fail to explain to the visitor the purpose of its erection. The interior, which is kept remarkably clean by the prisoners, is more pleasing to the eye than the exterior. Prayers are read every morning in the chapel, and Divine service performed twice every Sunday by the chaplain. The prisoners are chiefly employed in picking oakum, in making cocoa-matting, mats, and brushes; in carrying large balls of lead, or in turning a handle a certain number of times every day. To gain admittance to this building the visitor must apply either to the Governor, who lives on the left-hand side of the entrance, or to one of the County Magistrates.

Lewis writing in 1835, tells us that the County Penitentiary or new House of Correction (which was then standing) was a large brick building, erected in 1819, and that it comprised four wards for the classification of prisoners, four day-rooms, four work-rooms and four

airing-yards, in one of which was a tread-mill. Parry states that the "Penitentiary was erected as an auxiliary to the County jail." Matthiason informs us that persons were confined here for a greater or less period who were committed under the parish, game, and other laws for the usual minor offences. This building has since been pulled down and the site enclosed within the present high walls surrounding the jail.

Nearly opposite the Jail stand the

Christie Charity Almshouses,

Founded by Thomas Christie, Esq., concerning whom and the charity, Hankin observes as follows, in his "Account of the Public Charities of the Town of Bedford."—"Thomas Christie, Esq., by will, dated May 10th, 1697, gave to the minister of the parish of Saint Paul, the great tithes; out of which are to be paid weekly, 8s. to eight poor widows in the almshouses, and 52s. a year, in bread, to the poor of the parish of Saint Paul; and the same to the parish of St. Mary, in this town. The chancel of Saint Paul's, and the almshouses, are to be kept in repair out of the great tithes.

"These almshouses are situate on the Bromham road, (nearly opposite the County Jail,) with a piece of garden ground at the back, which is let separately, and the rent distributed to the poor widows. The charity is faithfully administered by the Rev. James Donne, the present vicar of Saint Paul's. In addition to the above allowance, the trustees of the Harpur charity allow to each poor widow in these almshouses, 3s. weekly, which makes them comfortable.

"There is a mural monument in the chancel of Saint Paul's church, to the memory of Mr. Christie and his family, placed there in the year 1697. The almshouses were built by Mr. Christie, in his life time, in the usual style of cottage residences. The name of Christie frequently occurs in the registers of St. Mary's parish."

A few yards from these almshouses is Gwyn street, in which, on the left hand side, a short distance from St. Loyes street, stands the

Catholic Apostolic Church:

The above-named building was first erected for the worship of God on a very small scale, in the year 1838. The congregation having considerably increased, the first building was entirely taken down in the year 1862, and the present one substituted for it, occupying the whole of the land which had originally been reserved by the congregation. It is a brick building, of the early English style of architecture, and will seat about 300 persons. The following is an official account of the faith,

hope, and observances of this body of Christians. They claim the name "Catholic Apostolic" by no means in any exclusive sense. They simply object to be called by any other, because they acknowledge it to be the only common title of the one church baptized into Christ, which has existed in all ages, and of which they claim to be members. They have always protested against the application to them, of the term *Irvingite*, which appellation they consider to be, both offensive and untrue, though derived from one, whom, when living, they held in high regard, as a devoted minister of Christ.

They do not profess to be, and refuse to acknowledge that they are separatists from the church established, or dominant, in any of the lands of their habitation, or from the general body of Christians therein. They recognize the continuance of the church from the days of the first Apostles (although existing in a lower degree of grace, and with mutilated ordinances). They justify their meeting in separate congregations from the charge of schism, on the ground of the same being authorized by an ordinance of God of paramount authority, which they believe God has restored to His church for the especial and present help and blessing of the whole; and which special blessing, can only be brought near to the churches in their present divided and fettered condition, through their being set apart *from all*, for the practical blessing *of all*. And so far are they from professing to be another sect in addition to the numerous sects already dividing the church, or to be *the one church* to the exclusion of all other bodies, though they believe that their special mission is to be the instruments in God's hands for re-uniting the scattered and divided members of that body of Christ, which once was, and essentially is *one*.

The only standards of faith which they recognise are the three creeds of the Catholic church—the Apostles creed, the Nicene, or Constantinopolitan creed, and that called the creed of St. Athanasius. The specialties of these religious belief, whereby they are distinguished from other Christian communions stands in this, viz:—that they hold Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, and Pastors, to be abiding ministries in the church, and that these ministries together with the supernatural powers and gifts of the Holy Ghost, dispensed and distributed among her members, are necessary for preparing and perfecting the church for the second advent of the Lord (which they believe to be very near at hand). And that supreme rule in the church ought to be exercised, as at the first, by Apostles, not elected or ordained by men, but called and sent forth immediately by God, and that this divine ordinance has been revived, and is now acting in the catholic church.

The congregations which have been authorized, are placed under the pastoral authority of angels, or bishops (as a general rule) with whom are associated in the work of the ministry, priests and deacons. The

deacons are a separate order of ministers taken from the midst of, and chosen by, the respective congregations in which they are to serve, and are ordained either by apostles, or by angels receiving commission thereunto. The priests are first called to their office by the supernatural word of the Holy Ghost, speaking through the prophets (no man taking this honour to himself), and then ordained by apostles; and from among the priests, by a like *call* are the angels consecrated and set in their places of rule and authority.

With regard to the times of worship, the Holy Eucharist is celebrated and the communion administered every Lord's-day and more or less frequently during the week, according to the number of priests in each particular congregation; and when the congregations are large, the first and last hour of each day, reckoning from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., are appropriated for divine worship; and if there be a sufficient number of ministers, there are in addition, prayers daily at 9 a.m. and 3 p.m., with other services for the more special objects of teaching and instruction. In the form of worship observed, the prayers and other devotions to be found in the principal liturgies of the Christian church are introduced and used by preference wherever appropriate; and in all these services the bishops and clergy of the catholic church, and all Christian peoples, with their Kings, Princes, and Governors, are remembered before God. It may also be observed, that in their ritual observances and offices of worship, external and material things have their places, as signs and symbols of *present invisible* spiritual realities. They contend, that as through the means of the water of baptism men are admitted into the Christian covenant, and made partakers of the grace of God, and as bread and wine duly consecrated are ordained to be used not merely for spiritual food, but also for purposes of sacramental and symbolical agency, so also that the use of other natural things, such as *oil, lights, incense, &c.*, as symbols and exponents of present spiritual and invisible realities, belong to the dispensation of the gospel.

Besides free-will offerings, the tenth of their increase (including income of every description) is brought up to and dedicated to the Lord, in worship and homage to His Majesty; thus honouring him with their substance as well as with the adorations of their bodies, and the praises of their lips. And such devotions to God, are appointed among those who are entirely separated to His service and ministry.

We now turn up a small street, the first on our right, leading into Hassett street. Here, on our left is situated the

Primitive Methodist Chapel.

The Primitive Methodist connexion arose under the providence of God in the year 1810, and the first class-meeting held was composed of

ten members, not one of whom had previously belonged to any other section of the Christian church. This community is divided into districts, and the districts are divided into circuits, and the circuits into societies. The connexion strictly speaking has ever been characterized for its missionary operations; some years ago the Nottingham circuit sent a missionary to this town, and in the year 1839, the Hassett street chapel was built, and as the work of God progressed, it was found necessary in 1849 to re-build and enlarge the chapel, which will now accommodate 400 persons with seats. The value of the property is about £600. The number of members in the society is about 140. The present superintendent minister who has laboured here for the last two years is the Rev. W. Birks. During the year 1868 school-room accommodation was provided for about 300 children, at an additional cost of about £150.

Passing to the top of Hassett street we find ourselves facing the "Best Almshouses"* to which reference has been made in treating of the Harpur Foundation. Adjoining these on the same side of the way, we find

The Church of the Holy Trinity.

This church was originally built as a chapel of ease to St. Paul's, and opened in 1841. Although designed to furnish 1000 sittings, it has lately been found inadequate to the requirements of the district, through the rapid increase of population arising chiefly from the building of new houses. It was determined therefore to raise a subscription towards an enlargement to provide further accommodation. This has been effected by throwing the space formerly occupied by the gallery stairs, the pulpit, the desk, and the communion-table into the body of the church, extending the galleries, and carrying out a small chancel with transepts containing new approaches to the gallery on either side and a new vestry; the entire length of the church being thus increased from 114 to 138 feet and 220 additional seats obtained. The chancel window consists of five lancet-headed lights graduated in height, which are furnished with stained glass; and the wheel-windows lighting the staircases are similarly adorned. The pews throughout the church have been lowered eight inches. The pulpit and the desk occupy the same position as before, on either side of the entrance to the chancel.

We now continue our journey through Conduit street, till just before reaching the railway bridge on the Bromham road. Here we direct our course along the Ashburnham road, and in a few minutes we find ourselves in the Midland road. A little to our left stands the

* The other Almshouses belonging to the Harpur Foundation, and known as the "Six and Forty," are situated on the north side of Dame Alice street, between the Jail and High street.

Catholic Schoolroom and Presbytery.

Until the commencement of the year 1864, the catholics of Bedford had no place of worship nearer than Shefford, and no resident priest. In the January of this year a priest came into residence, and services were held at his house, 48, Offa street. Early in 1866 a Presbytery and schoolroom were completed on the Midland road at the cost of about £1400. The schoolroom is temporarily used for worship, until the projected church shall be erected, the site of which abuts upon the Midland road. The Architect is Gilbert R. Blount, Esq., of Montagu Place. The present Priest is the Rev. John Priestley Warmoll.

And a little to our *right* stands the Midland Railway Station—the point from which we started.

Having now concluded our sketch of the history of the town, and likewise our route through Bedford, it will be seen that there are but few towns in the country that offer to the resident such benefits as this; its educational advantages are unsurpassed—its mortality is less than almost any town in England of the same size—it is drained on the most approved and scientific principles—it is well lighted—pure water can be obtained either from wells, or supplied by waterworks at a reasonable rate—and the rapid increase in its population, all combine to prove that Bedford cannot be surpassed as a place of residence, by scarcely any other town in the United Kingdom.

THE END.

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